

INSIDE: Canada celebrates its golden heroes

Maclean's

AUGUST 20, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25



WOMEN and the ELECTION



"So what's for dinner?"

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Canadian Club
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

AUGUST 20, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 36



The Tories are on a roll
As the summer election campaign entered its final three weeks, Brian Mulroney was encouraged by a new poll indicating a Tory minority government. —Page 18



Splitting at the seams
Severely overcrowded and dangerously polluted, Mexico City was an appropriate site for a United Nations international conference on population planning. —Page 6

COVER

Women and the election

The support of 5.5 million female voters—more than 50 per cent of the electorate—is at stake as the leaders of the three major parties take part in a nationally televised debate on women's issues this week. Each of the leaders has promised to work for economic equality for women, and a wide spectrum of women's concerns have become an important factor in the federal election campaign. —Page 18



Canada's golden heroes
Canadians will remember the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games as the time when the Federal Government is an amateur sports program finally paid off. —Page 32



Heavy traffic in teen sex
The film-makers of *Grandma, U.S.A.* try to please everyone with rock-video fantasies, battered cars, song opera affairs and small-town sentimentalism. —Page 62

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Reforming the press

John Turner is lucky. When a waiter in a restaurant in Nova Scotia spilled a drink on his trousers last week, there were no photographers or cameramen present to record the event and the Prime Minister's reaction. Robert Stanfield should have been so lucky in 1974 when he, like Turner, was fighting against the odds to win the election that year. Stanfield, then the Conservative leader, caught several passes of a football before finally dropping one. In that case a photographer was on hand, and it was the ball-dropping photo, not the successful catches, which appeared on front pages. Virtually overnight the fumble became a nationwide symbol of Stanfield's unforced—but widely held—image of impotence, and the Nova Scotian's Tories, already on the way to defeat, suffered a resounding rout. How much more damaging would have been a picture of an embattled Prime Minister staring straight ahead in horror as an awkward waiter poured coffee into his lap.

On such trivia do Canadian elections turn often turn. Images of Pierre Trudeau executing near-perfect high dives at pool stops in 1968 and 1972 probably had a far more powerful impact than any positions that he took on the issues of the day. And numerous surveys showed that Joe Clark's out-of-synch walking style, which became the butt of countless joking imitations across the country, severely damaged his vote-getting ability.

Television and radio, particularly, but the written media as well have to assume much of the responsibility for turning elections in Canada—and in most Western nations—into contests that are won or lost on the basis of a 60-second slip or a series of eye-catching photos. In an unwritten agreement with the campaign managers, forced out of a distrust of voters' ability to stretch their attention span and deal with real policy proposals in a serious manner, the media tend to reduce national leaders to the status of stand-in actors. It is past time that we seriously re-evaluate the standards that we apply to the coverage of political campaigns. The press must strive to balance 60-second clip journalism with an examination and discussion of real issues. The nagging concern that it is not doing so in this campaign is proof of the need for journalistic—not political—reform.

Kevin Dayle

Maclean's Aug. 29, 1984

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LETTERS

Three's company

The Aug. 6 cover of *Maclean's* presents the reader with a visual dimension of the reality of the televised political debates ("The debate about limits"). If I recall correctly, those were three participants on the podium, not two. By omitting the Leader Ed Broadbent from the cover you reinforce the perception of a two-man contest and maybe even contribute to the increasing polarization of Canadian politics. To create a visual representation of the debate while excluding Broadbent is to do a disservice not only to the true but to the Canadian public.

—JULIA MITCHELL
Ottawa



Broadbent, increased polemics

Before even opening my Aug. 6 issue of *Maclean's* I must commend your editor, Stewart Sherwood, on the amazing likeness of Turner and Mulroney. What a shame he did not capture Broadbent as well!

—MURIEL THOMPSON
Port Coquitlam, B.C.

Questions of freedom

Regarding Barbara Amiel's column ("The byproducts on the left," Aug. 4) well spoken. There is nothing more disturbing to the left than to hear from those who breached the atmosphere of social planning for the good of all and have found the system as distorted that they actually want to escape it. Progress is a treacherous business and does not always run in the course we wish. It is our duty, those of us who were blessed by being born here, to ensure that the experience of our Eastern cultural

I was pleased to see Barbara Amiel's column, "The byproducts on the left," (Aug. 4). I am sorry by the misapplication of the term "left." Why not "mainstream"? As she put it, "Why can there not be more balance in the ideas and opinions presented to the Canadian public by our media?"

—RONALD RYKES
Ottawa

Blunder down under

It would be remiss of me not to point out to you that the eerie parallel identified in the article "Fun and the Games after dark" (Cover, July 30) at Dame Edna Everage is, in fact, the well-known housewife impersonator Dame Edna Everage, otherwise known as Australian entertainer Barry Humphries.

—ADRIAN FERGUSON
Calgary

Hollywood's lure

Thank you for making us aware that the fascinating Miss York of *White Heat* has landed a series contract for *Hill Street Blues*. I shall miss her on television commercials. What else could we offer her? No wonder we lose our Kate Nelligan and Donald Sutherland; we often then see them co-starring series contracts far超越 their value.

—DEB HERRING LISTER
Waterloo, Ont.

Letters are printed and may be condensed. We cannot supply name addresses or telephone numbers. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, Maclean's Magazine, Post Office Box 177, Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5J 2A7.

PASSAGES

ELATED An moderator of the United Church of Canada, Right Rev. Robert Smith, 50, at the 10th General Council in Montréal, Man. Smith, who stated after his election that he is "strongly supportive of human rights for gay and lesbian persons," an issue at the council, minister of Shaughnessy Heights United Church in Vancouver. Before his 1982 move to Vancouver, Smith served for 15 years as minister to United Churches in the Toronto area.

RECOVERING Former leader of the New Democratic Party Tommy Douglas, 78, from internal injuries received when struck by a bus in Ottawa in June. Recovered Aug. 2 from the Ottawa Civic Hospital, where he was treated for fractured ribs and a possible concussion, he returned to his home in the capital.

DIED William Baldwin, 70, the Hollywood actor who played the one-armed man who cloaked David Jensen for four years in the TV series *The Fugitive* until he was caught in the final episode of long cancer, in Santa Monica, Calif. Baldwin, a sometime movie stand-in for Burt Lancaster and appeared opposite Kirk Douglas in *Lonely Are the Brave* (1962).

DIED Comic performer Richard Deacon, 85, best known as Mel, the bald-headed nemesis on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, in Los Angeles. A regular on TV, Deacon had more than 1,800 guest appearances alone the 1960s and acted in feature films including *Derrire* (1964), *Assassins of the Pope* (1965) and *The Birds* (1963). He had recently been battling a glioblastoma, a brain tumor.

DIED Blue singer Esther Phillips, 46, described by *Downbeat* magazine in 1974 as the person why "Stax blues with as much heat as any singer around," of a long-term illness associated with alcohol and drug abuse, in Harbor UCLA Medical Center in Los Angeles. Discovers by boxer-leader Johnny O'Boyle at a 1949 talent contest, Phillips, born in Galveston, Tex., toured with O'Boyle's band until 1962. She appeared with *The Beatles* on the BBC-TV show *Ready, Steady, Go!* in 1965.

DIED Traditional jazz pianist Ishiro (Toshi) Washington, 71, who was also known as Papa Yalla, after he collapsed while playing piano at the World's Fair in New Orleans. Noted for his nimble fingers and broad range of styles, Washington died his first round only last year with the album *New Orleans Piano Professor*, featuring live performances during his lifetime. "Playing ability is what counts," he once said.

Question of balance

I was surprised and upset that Geraldine Ferraro was your July 31 cover story ("The woman who could be president"). That particular issue of your magazine was the first one since Prime Minister John Turner called a federal election, yet who made the cover? A candidate in the upcoming U.S. election. I admit that a woman being nominated for the vice-presidency of the United States certainly was noteworthy; however, I feel strongly that Candi's general election had more merit as the cover of Canada's weekly newsmagazine than the U.S. election.

—ALAN O'GRADY
London, Ont.

Trial by theory

I am writing in connection with your article on the Grange zusammen hearings, investigating the deaths of 36 children at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children between Jan. 30, 1980, and March 22, 1981 ("New revelations in the baby murders," Canada, July 29). The first phase of the hearings was devoted to seeking an answer to the question of how the babies died. As you are well aware, the hearings as phase one have concluded, but Judge Samuel Grange has not issued his report. Despite that, in both your opening and closing statements you have concluded that the babies were transferred. I feel you have done a great disservice to readers. Clearly, that is the type of reasoning that judgment-thinking Canadians about the integrity and impartiality of the panel I had hoped that MacLean's could do better than this.

—JAMES J. PITSALO
Toronto

The fitness factor

As an expatriate Canadian ever proud of her country, I am aghast to see your article on Alvin Patashnikoff's July 16 column, "When handwriting breeds contempt!" His overweening show-off, smirking Americans trying to emulate their children are so resolutely as to bring to the Victorian era. Has he not heard of Jane Fonda, and others, and the interminable fitness marathons to make the United States thin? What could possibly be wrong with a businessman wearing a T-shirt? How can anyone in this day and age still be laboring under the fable that clothes make the man or the woman?

—SYLVIA DENSEL
Perogorsk, Ark.

Understanding the problem

Concerning your article "Young and out of work" (Cover, July 16), good work. It was honest and informative, although it touched on only a few of the problems

posed by itself and other Federal inmates released from prison across Canada every day. Not only do we make up a fair percentage of young people out of work, but we are often the most desperate for work. Considering the obvious overwhelming problems faced by this country's parliamentarians, I would hope more concern will be placed on the employment opportunities—along with the social acceptance and understanding of our problems.

—DOUG A. GILL,
Jasperdale Penitentiary,
Kingston, Ont.

Senatorial highs and lows

I thought it was a good indication of how our government members view the Senate when I read "Penitence on the installment plan" (Canada, July 9). Your article states that Allan MacEachen, in responding to his appointment as government leader in the Senate, "acknowledged... he had lost his desire for active politics." The way the Senate is set up right now is a farce. It must become an institution that is more responsive and responsible to the people of Canada.

—NANCY J. LOGEMAN,
Wolfeville, N.S.



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The face of the Cold War



Moscow's Gorky Park; Disney World (below) depicting the traces of diploma

The faculty and students at Salem College were anxious as the wait for their special guests to arrive entered its fourth hour. Finally, the limousine carrying information officers Oleg Savayko and Gleb Shirkov and their wives from the Soviet Embassy in Washington pulled onto the campus of the small liberal arts school in the hills of West Virginia, and the East-West dialog began. Ironically, the reason for the tarry was the convoluted route that the Soviets had to take to avoid passing through Mineral County, W. Va., which is designated an area off limits to Soviet diplomats.

Such iron restrictions are common for Soviets in the United States and their Western counterparts in the Soviet Union. About 20 percent of all U.S. domestic territory is closed to Soviet officials, journalists and businesspeople—although not to tourists. Among the banned sites for Soviets on the excluded list: Eagle County, Colo., the popular ski area near Denver; the Painted Desert and Grand Canyon in Arizona; Dodge Stadium in California; the Maine coast; and the city of Hou-



mons. After the Second World War, Moscow issued repeated U.S. requests to drop the restrictions. Then, in 1955, Washington retaliated by designating 16 own closed areas. Canada and other non-Soviet countries were also caught up in the turf war and faced travel restrictions in the Soviet Union. And strict—and sometimes stiff—restrictions apply to

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Soviet diplomats, journalists and business people who visit Canada and West European countries. Soviet diplomats stationed in Ottawa are confined to the 1,690-square-mile National Capital Region. These posted in Montreal cannot go farther than 40 km from the city.

Both Soviets and Americans refuse to discuss the details of the travel restrictions. A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Washington declined to say why his country closed some areas to certain Westerners. For his part, U.S. state department spokesman Joseph

Beng declared, "It is a matter of policy; we do not discuss our reasons for restricting a given area." A Canadian official said that Ottawa limits Soviet travel because Canadians face travel restrictions in the Soviet Union. But Ralph Lysikoff, a press officer at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, said, "We do not restrict out bounds to the United States does."

No one denies that the system is inconsistent and confusing. "We would like to do away with the restrictions altogether," said Beng. But while that idea is tempting, it is also improbable

that in 1978 the Soviets revised their off-limits areas to 30 per cent of the country from 24 per cent. The United States followed suit last November with a similar cutback. But that agreement resulted from years of on-and-off-agreements; new diplomatic events set further liberalizations.

Few areas are closed for security reasons. Exceptions include the Soviet ban on travel to the Kamchatka Peninsula, a seaport military zone near which a Soviet fighter aircraft shot down Korean Air Lines flight 007 last year. The Americans in turn have declared Silicon Valley in California, a high-technology centre, off limits. But most closings occur for totally different reasons. The Soviets often shut off areas to reveal poverty and to shield some parts of the country from "corrupting" Western influences. And the United States establishes its own. Explained Basp, "It is called reciprocity. We have closed most of our areas in an attempt to make up the 20 per cent."

Not surprisingly, the retaliatory stations have justified their captures, if not whammies. In 1976 Moscow's Getty Park is the only Soviet diplomatic post that opened to Western diplomats. As a result, the United States has closed the embassy in the Soviet Union as the equivalent of "Gettysburg." The Soviet Union forbids travel on the Volga River, which flows by many Soviet military installations between Outer Mongolia and the Arctic Ocean. The United States has closed the Mississippi River, Detroit and Cape Cod as the restricted list. Constitution does not count for much in the diplomatic mind-set. Las Vegas is a forbidden city, Basp is open.

The penalties for violating the travel structures set almost as obscure as the rules. "Punishment depends on the circumstances," explained Basp. If the authorities catch a diplomat soliciting oil technology secrets in Houston, he could face expulsion. A rapporess would probably suffice for more minor infractions of the rules. Catching offenders is relatively easy in the Soviet Union, where the KGB usually puts travelling foreigners under surveillance. But the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation is less lenient. It reportedly watches only high-level officials and suspected espionage agents, and sometimes not even them.

Still, the rules are rigid. The state department will not disclose the number of travel requests it turns down each year, but a strong clear mark does not necessarily win any special favors. During a state visit to the United States in 1968, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's wife, Nina, persuaded her husband to request a tour of Mississippi. The state department turned them down. □

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A godfather's new career

When Jack Singer, head of a \$260-million Calgary real estate empire, visited Francis Coppola's *Knights of the Round Table* in 1984, he hoped to get his hero's autograph. But Coppola ended up with Singer's signature on a \$3-million cheque which helped bail out a troubled film project. Singer's entry into the Hollywood glamour world was the start of a friendship between the director and the flamboyant businessman. But in January the relationship abruptly cooled when Security Pacific National Bank, which held a \$13-million mortgage on Coppola's Hollywood General Studios, the parent company of *Knights*, filed for bankruptcy proceedings, at which point Singer bought the property for \$12.5 million at a Los Angeles auction.

Singer came to Coppola's rescue in 1985 since the director's *One Flew the Cuckoo's Nest*, a \$26-million musical extravaganza, faced serious financial trouble. Singer loaned the \$5 million without even reading the script. But the film was a box-office failure, netting only about \$4 million in 1986 before its two-month run ended. Singer and Coppola became close friends. While the film was in production, Singer even lived in Coppola's two-bedroom bungalow on the Hollywood General lot. For that reason, Singer's purchase of his friend's 65-year-old studio surprised the Hollywood film community. Said Singer, defending his action: "I had to protect my investment. The land alone is worth \$60 million."

Singer, 61, is chairman of Calgary-based United Management Ltd., one of Western Canada's largest real estate companies. Singer's sons Alan, 32, and Stephen, 30, now run his business empire, enabling him to spend a good deal of time on the studio bungalow. Confidentially, the reclusive billionaire Howard Hughes lived in the same bungalow during his movie-making period in the 1950s. Among the film stars in the past at Hollywood General were Penelope Tree, Dennis Hopper, Elizabeth Taylor and *The Great Gatsby*. Singer now leases the studio to the new Canadian producer of *Rocky Horror Picture Show* and *Gremlins*. As well, he rents facilities to rock musicians for rehearsals. Bassist Michael Jackson and his brother practiced there before their U.S. tour.

Now Singer has his sights on another goal: to own a major league baseball or football team in the United States. He claims that his ambition is now "close to realization." Once I have done that," he said, "I will have done everything."

By Charles Gordon

The landscape is strong

The advantages of a summer vacation overwintered. Snap catch the opposition, portion on their heels, each in on the leadership succession publicity barge, beat the falling fall snowbank monsters.

The chessadvantages should have been

clear, but were not; many of the voters are now, they may not be seeing *Knights* every night; to get caught up in the excitement, the elation and flow of it all, for that matter, *Knights* may be asy. Most important of all, the voters' old holdings constantly seem reminders that the best things about this country may just survive, no matter who wins. What follows is a day-by-day account of an election, seen far from home, finally, without *Knights*, and only a newspaper for a guide.

*Day 1 Saying economy is main concern,

Tanner calls election in unprecedented

lighting, two pelicans spotted at beach

Main eastern who are pelicans there?

*Day 2 Golf course acreage sofa ball

steamed by ice can be replaced without

penalty. For worth four or five strokes

over a summer. Paper quotes MacLennan:

"We are going to be behind and we are

going in as the underdog."

*Day 3 Dollar drops to 74.95. Leasing

while pine near dock leasing more de-

sadly. Main concern: cut white pine

down or pull it up?

*Day 4 Shred dress moths off white

pine trees faraway where not stated by

far. Turner will run in British Colum-

bia, MacLennan in Quebec. Beauchamp in

the great west.

*Day 5 Turner, discussing latest round

of patronage appointments, says he

would "like to be judged on my own

performance from now on." Thunder-

ton, servers. Main concern: tent

doesn't leak.

*Day 6 Paper says Canadian bald eagles

being exported to United States

Shoreline poll shows Liberal lead down

to 25 per cent. White pine falls into wood

water, ending debate.

*Day 7 MacLennan accuses Turner of

"swiping" Tory energy policy. Sustai-

nable berries appear, but in small

numbers.

*Day 8 Inflation rate dips. Falles tree is

attacked from rowboat. One attacker

inadvertently struck by tree. Turner to

run in Vancouver Quakers.

*Day 9 Rabbit spotted at outposts.

Wind and cloud drive sunbathers in-

doors to read newspaper. Main concern

Eagles win. Jays lose. In other news,

parties agree to TV debates, which will be fun to review.

*Day 10 Beauchamp announces resignation. Beauchamp's columnized notes damaged, watermarks made by MacLennan and urges him not to talk anymore. Angler with large pike on line forgets about MacLennan, Beauchamp and expected entente for at least 15 minutes.

*Day 11 MacLennan attacks agriculture policy in Winnipeg. Big white pine lying dead in forest yields stone wood and needed chopping blocks. Local paper runs a small picture of Lakeside below the field, the two large plumes of Knights of Columbus picnic above.

*Day 12 MacLennan attacks agriculture policy in Winnipeg. Big white pine lying dead in forest yields stone wood and needed chopping blocks. Local paper runs a small picture of Lakeside below the field, the two large plumes of Knights of Columbus picnic above.

*Day 13 Major election news in TV destined to run fine of Turner parting Campagnolo's hand. Turner says people are reaching out to him. Baby bear spotted gallivanting among cottages on mainland. Not patted on hand. Main concern: whereabouts of mother bear.

*Day 14 Paper says 1,000 campaign speakers when attacked by seagulls.

*Day 15 Paper carries comments of people who say Turner misappropriates MacLennan's outflow. Sturm now very much a political force.

*Day 16 Beauchamp wins. By irrelevant. (a) Beauchamp won; (b) irrelevant. (c) Turner lost but not by not losing by as much as he might have. Weather sunny and warm.

*Day 17 Another election, newly ratified, finds and hardly finds. Mouse traps itself in a bacon fat and has to be destroyed. Turner says every he quoted MacLennan as advancing election of more civil service jobs than there are.

*Day 18 Beauchamp's speech exposes errors. Beauchamp tells Turner to do his homework, flies to Vancouver to find "ordinary Canadians."

*Day 19 Another poll gives Liberals 16-point lead, poll taken before election called. Wind disappears. So does sun. Tiny toad plague threatens.

*Day 20 Turner names Keith Davey campaign co-chairman. People step carefully to avoid tiny toads. Mice concern: first bat in three years flies about veranda.

*Day 21 Another symbol absent, but two bears appear. Canadian symbols duos quietly without slapping their tails when they see the enemy at hand. MacLennan promises to increase size of armed forces by 10 per cent.

*Day 22 While politicians sleep, marching rights issue each other across sky as 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. for sake of clashing and a several immigrant issues. Turner, upon awakening, announces Bill Clinton youth training program.

*Day 23 Mystery bird sighted. Bird book reveals it to be commoner (immature). Bill Davis reveals that Ontario will go along more or less the way it always has on official bilingualism, no matter what MacLennan says. Beaters, at 5 a.m., carry on lead conversations. Main concern: which way is north.

*Day 24 TV poll, taken after debate, shows Turner in front by nine and sixty-gaining. Another American symbol, a gigantic houseboat, anchors just off beach after capsizes and permission.

*Day 25 Bear stands beside highway in airport and real world. Vets concern if land is strong, knows landscape is



Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

Mulroney's machine rolls on

By Robert Miller

Smooth-talking Brian Mulroney and his smooth-speaking Progressive Conservatives election machine moved on a roll as Canada's late-summer federal campaign moved into its final three weeks and the three party leaders prepared for another intense encounter, this time exclusively devoted to women's issues (page 18). A Carlton journalism school poll appearing in southern newspapers last week indicated that the Conservative

majority had continued to expand in all parts of the country, including Quebec (p. 16). Discounting the 35 per cent who are undecided, the results of the survey, taken after last month's televised debate, gave the Conservatives 51 per cent, the Liberals 33 and the New Democrats 15. At the same time, a new Gallup poll showed the Tories marginally ahead of the Liberals—39.1 to 37.8 percent—among decided voters in Ontario.

While Prime Minister John Turner desperately tried to wrench tactics, several of his provincial candidates advanced a departure from government policy by calling for a freeze on nuclear weapons. *See "No! Leader!* Ed Broadbent continued to pursue the interests and votes of his self-proclaimed constituency of "ordinary Canadians" by proposing that interest rates be pegged at two per cent above the rate of inflation. And an increasingly confident Mulroney last week began a five-day swing through crucial northern Ontario with an important friend, Ontario Premier William Davis, who has evidently decided to play the role of Tory godfather in the federal race.

The Prime Minister and his party completed their first week under the overall tutelage of Senator Keith Davis, the barn-auspice "rainmaker" and mastermind of four Liberal election victories who assumed the duties of campaign director after the Aug. 4 resignation of William Lee Davy's lie-

utenant. Davis' immediate appointment as Turner begins, resulting immediately in a presence in the media, a "new beginning" style that Davy used on former prime minister Pierre Trudeau during the 1980 election. Turner also sought to enhance Trudeau's self-styled role as a global peacemaker, moving to continue Trudeau's crusade for superpower disarmament.

But a private split that has existed in the Liberal party for at least a year became public when Liberal candidate

The freeze debate served to take the focus off Turner's attacks earlier in the week on Mulroney on women issues as unexpected Tory gains and his loss of three PC mandates, each of whom supported the Party's Quebec position in the 1980 Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association. But Mulroney effectively replied to Turner's attack by recalling his own efforts to help defeat the referendum, saying, "When the battle for the soul of Canada was under way, I was there in the trenches, fighting for



Tourist in Niagara, Ont., trying to switch topics as a new poll shows a Tory majority

Iona Campagnoli is British Columbia and Louis Pélissier in Quebec endorsed the nuclear freeze. Turner, whose government formally backs NATO's "no-track" policy of halting the West's arsenal while negotiating reductions, argued that he will have to "reconcile" the freeze position "with the objectives of our allies around the world."

Well-placed Liberal officials told Maclean's that Campagnoli was simply laying the groundwork for a change in course for Turner. Indeed, sources within the Turner camp said a speech was ready this week calling for a negotiated, verifiable arms freeze. Officials at External Affairs, however, are opposed to the change.

Maclean's

Canada, and I didn't see Jake Turner around." Turner then recalled that in 1980 he had shepherded the Official Languages Act through Parliament and he added, "I need no lessons on national unity from Brian Mulroney."

As all parties began their advertising blitz on television and radio and in print, Turner's organizers continued to believe that he could reverse the Liberal tide. In Kingston, Turner revealed more details of his programs for unemployed youth and small business, announcing a \$40-million Young Entrepreneurs Development Program. But Turner's promise sounds remarkably like a program announced last May by Employment Minister John Roberts. However, there was near unanimity on Turner's



Mulroney, Davis (above), Broadbent playing Tory godfather in central Ontario



tour and at his Ottawa headquarters that the Prime Minister needed a triumph in this week's nationally televised debate on women's issues. And a Turner triumph against the same formidable opponents he faced in last month's debates was by no means certain.

Broadbent, in particular, was looking forward to another chance to play the same game as the leader of the free enterprise. After the earlier debates, Broadbent's party began to make a recovery from a 21-year low in popular support. When the election was called, only 16 percent of decided voters backed the new. But the Southern poll put TLP strength at 15.5 per cent of decided voters, while a more generous network poll, also conducted after the debates, gave the party 17 per cent. More significantly, according to both surveys, the lead that the Liberals took into the campaign had disappeared.

Ahead from Turner's problems and Mulroney's shank campaign performance, the Tory surge owed much to the party's organization, headed by long-time Davis adviser Norman Atkins, a Toronto advertising executive. Atkins has been in charge of the re-election effort for almost a year and he has been one of the chief engineers on the Ontario Tories' vaunted Big Blue Machine ever since Davis became premier in 1971. As Peter Hargraves of Meehan's Ottawa bureau reported from southern Ontario, "Mulroney's tour was as smooth as an expensive watch. His appeal is a pan-Canadian one, long on vision, short on specifics, and it is evident of the late Jim Dinnington in his prime." Frank Moore, the former Newfoundland premier who is now a Montreal businessman and a key Mulroney worker, told Maclean's Montreal bureau chief Anthony Wilson-Smith, "Everything is very smooth, except the efficiency of the Big Machine. That's what we try to do."

After the debate it is expected that Turner will concentrate on Ontario in an attempt to repair the Liberal's 1980 performance during which they were 80 of the province's 96 seats. But during that campaign the Big Blue Machine was hardly an ensemble. And then-Liberal Leader Pierre Trudeau was not damaged by bad luck and self-inflicted wounds. Reported Maclean's Mary Janssen: "For Turner, it has been a strange campaign. Last week at some stops, including Scarborough, Ont., and Sudbury, Ont., he was in good form. In other places, especially throughout the Great Lakes area, he was reduced to a fool's errand. His potential is huge, but the big question was, why? It is aiddle that Turner must quickly solve. His campaign is running out of time."

With Carol Gies in Ottawa and Jane O'Brien in Vancouver

The Tories assault a Liberal bastion

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Quebec City lawyer Gary Ouellet blinks once, then twice, when a visitor to his office announces a change has come. "It's for 100,000," the man says, smiling. "Do you think that's impressive?" One of a long line of Progressive Conservative fund raisers, Ouellet declared: "It was spontaneous. It used to take a week to raise that kind of money, and I had not even approached them yet in the first place. That kind of support, Ouellet and other long-time Tories maintain, indicates—despite some polling evidence to the contrary—that a Conservative resurgence has begun in Quebec, where the party traditionally has had to scratch for money and votes.

In the 1989 general election Conservatives fortunes hit a new low in Quebec: the party took only one of the government's 75 seats. But now, buoyant Conservatives contend, their party is on the verge of its biggest breakthrough since the 1958 general election, when it won 50 seats under the late Jules Dufresne. Declared a cynic behind Ray, the Conservatives' chief Quebec organizer: "We said all along we would win a majority of 20 seats here. Now I believe that figure is too low."

Indeed, recent polls offer conflicting evidence. A survey of 500 Quebecers conducted after last month's television debates by Toronto's Thompson Laboratories & Co. Ltd. for CTV indicated that support for the Conservative rose by 16 points to 26 per cent since June, while the Liberals had slipped 22 points to 47. The latest poll, conducted by Carleton University journalism students and appearing in Southern newspapers last week, showed that 49 per cent now considered voting for Quebec preferred the Tories to 37 per cent who favored the once-dominant Liberals. Still, some 27 per cent of Quebec voters are undecided. But the Tories are not underestimating the challenge they face: Quebec is a traditional Liberal bastion.

In 1989, under then-leader Joe Clark, Conservative candidates won only 27,507 of the 29 million votes cast in the province—9.2 per cent. The Tories even finished behind the strident Ralliement Parti in two constituencies, Maxfield-Lacombe and Langelier in the Quebec City region, and in every riding lost by more than 30,000 votes. And although the Liberals already have encountered a series of uncharacteristic organisational problems—ranging from a lack of campaign support to leadership rivals Jean Chretien and John Turner and the complaint of many Liberals that the campaign has been

slow starting and plagued with minor problems—most believe their support is too deep to be dislodged in a single election.

For their part, the Tories are attempting to convince voters that virtually everything has changed. "Do you think that's impressive?" One of a long line of Progressive Conservative fund raisers, Peter declared: "It was spontaneous. It used to take a week to raise that kind of money, and I had not even approached them yet in the first place. That kind of support, Ouellet and other long-time Tories maintain, indicates—despite some polling evidence to the contrary—that a Conservative resurgence has begun in Quebec, where the party traditionally has had to scratch for money and votes.

At issue, the Tories are hoping to capitalise on a widespread feeling of disillusionment with federal politics in general, a flagging economy and high unemployment among Quebecers. The party's slogan in Quebec, "Avec Brian Mulroney, ça va changer" ("It's time for a change") is partly designed to remind voters that there are benefits for ridings electing government members. Indications are that the strategy is working.

Even Tories, however, admit that they will make few inroads around the island of Montreal, where the Liberals will win most of the more than 30 seats at stake. The Liberals have introduced two new seat candidates in the area—former Quebec finance minister Raymond Gauthier in Laval-des-Rapides riding and Louise Papineau, the former head of the Canadian Advertisers Council, in the States of France. Minister Marc Labreault is retiring Carnes, 49, in the likely choice for Finance in a Liberal government. Provincial Montreal-area Liberals who appear set to be re-elected include Justice Minister Donald Johnson in St. Pierre-Westmount, Secretary of State Serge Joyal in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve and Labor Minister Andre Ouellet in Pointe-

Des-Moulins.

The Tories are hoping for an upset in Pointe-Du-Chene-De-Grasse-Lachine East, where journalist and Montreal city councillor Nick Auf der Maré is facing cut-throat salaried general Warren Allard, and in Lachine, where consulting engineer Robert Lapointe, a former vice-president of the local Liberal association in 1978-79, is running against Liberal Daniel Lachance. Lapointe, a 34-year-old former president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, admitted one Liberal organizer: "If we



Roy McRae: a big breakthrough in Quebec

Minister Andre Ouellet vs Provenzano.

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Donatien Gérin (below, left) big donation, star candidate and favorable polls

have trouble anywhere in Montreal, there will be the places."

Outside Montreal many familiar Liberal seats will easily be captured in Ottawa. Among them Christian, in the Shawinigan riding of St. Maurice, International Trade Minister Pierre Fox, in Brossard-Dollard-Montcalm, and Minister of State for Regional Development Rita Bogold, in the Gaétan region riding of

Bonaventure. But Conservative organizers regard virtually all the seven ridings in the Quebec City area and the province's rural areas as potentially vulnerable. The Conservatives are concentrating on those ridings where successful Tory candidates would be almost automatic members of a Mulroney cabinet. Among these: Gabriel Bertrand, the widow of former Union Nationale pre-



With Brian Mulroney in Montreal and Mary Wigmore in Quebec City

gior Jean-Jacques Bertrand, in the Eastern Townships riding of Mirabel-Boucherville, the job they Quebec incumbent, in Joliette, Robert Easton de Groot, industry minister in the short-lived Joe Clark administration in 1979, in Northumberland, and Marcel Masse, former Union Nationale provincial minister of education, in Frontenac. After some early jitters, they organizers are now confident that Mulroney will win his seat just in the Quebec West riding of Matane.

Candidates from all parties report that jobs and the economy are the only issues that drive responses from voters. Interest in sovereignty-secession, a burning issue in the 1980 campaign, has notably diminished, and all have experienced disengagement, apathy and even outright hostility in the election. Ted Allard, who has held the West End riding in Montreal for 10 years, "People are saying they do not mind much to get excited about with Mulroney or Turner. My only solution is to run as a third party candidate for peace." Still, for some voters the lack of a track record is not enough. In the 1980 election the slumping Rhéaume—the only candidate with a name on the ballot—was beaten by a 10-point margin. Martin's Sherbrooke Street into a honky-tonk alley—attracted 88 per cent of Quebecers and they could easily match that total again. Declared Pierre Clolin, a 25-year-old worker for a messenger service in Quebec City: "I will vote Rhéaume because I'm not interested in a race between [Turner and Mulroney]. I don't believe government can do anything for us anyway."

As well, swing voters repeat both the New Democratic Party—it has never won a seat in the province—and the fledgling Parti Québécois offshoot, the Parti Nationaliste du Québec, because they feel neither has a chance of electing a member. Declared Mary Breenan, a 34-year-old who runs an electronics store in Montreal's west end: "I might have voted NDP if they had a player here, but they don't."

Even so, the most ardent Tory boosters do not expect to win Quebec from the Liberals on Sept. 4. Indeed, party organizers worry that they could win hundreds of thousands more votes across the province without winning more than two or three ridings. Said Ray: "It is not an easy thing when you are talking about trying to change the voting habits of an entire province." Added Jean-Claude Daoust, a Liberal riding co-ordinator for western Quebec: "Quebecers feel we are the ones who have traditionally taken care of them, and that is not going to change significantly in one election. But we know we are in a real fight."

With Brian Mulroney in Montreal and Mary Wigmore in Quebec City

Women and the election

By Carol Goar

For 10 years Ursula Appelstein was one of the hardest-working members of the House of Commons. The 54-year-old mother of four sons never a political star, but she served voters in her Toronto riding of York South-Weston well—and she was known in Ontario as a resourceful fighter for constituents and the elderly. Last September, tired of "scratching around like a hen in a barnyard to get money to help people," she decided to quit politics and subsequently turned down Pierre Trudeau's offer of a professorship appointment as a distinguished court judge. "Frankly, I felt I was being treated," she recalls.

Then, in July Appelstein began to look for a job. She got in touch with Ontario's Public Service Commission about the possibility of working in the federal bureaucracy. "Can you type?" the recruitment officer asked the 60-year-old Appelstein, who, after 10 years in Parliament, be-

lieved that she had other skills to offer. A few days later she received a call from the affirmative action branch of Canada Maxpower. "I don't want to hurt you," the counsellor said, "but I should warn you straight away that women of a certain age who have been out of the labor market for a number of years can't get exactly what they want." Appelstein, who was flaunting her status as an ex, was crestfallen. "I thought that maybe I should be looking for my wheelchair."

That humiliating experience, which will have a familiar ring for all too many Canadian women, served to underscore the inequalities that have made women's issues, some of them deeply emotional, a central factor in this summer's election campaign. Politically, if belatedly, women are in the ascendancy in Canadian politics. The three main federal parties have mounted their most concerted effort

ever to win the support of Canada's 8.5 million women voters. An impressive 306 women are running for Parliament, many of them determined to promote the cause of greater social and economic equality for women. The need is both urgent and undeniable. Today, despite the era of women's liberation and widespread reforms of the law and employment practices, exactly one of every 10 working women are with in law-paying clerical and service jobs. "It's wrong that women like me, with as much to offer, only get asked if they can type," said Appelstein. "The whole system is way."

In all democratic nations, politicians are increasingly aware of the importance of wooing women's vote. Just last month in the United States, the Democratic party nominated New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro to run for vice-president on the Walter Mondale ticket. And next month in Canada women will have their best opportunity yet to use their voting power to create change. Each of the three party leaders has pledged to work toward economic equality for women, and the three main parties have set out to attract support from women—who make up 52 per cent of the electorate—by taking positions on a wide spectrum of "women's issues," ranging from government funding of day care to pension reform and tougher penalties for wife beaters and rapists.

The party leaders are also beginning to offer specific promises. One example last Friday, in Sudbury, Ont., Prime Minister John Turner announced a new program to provide a better allowance for the estimated 100,000 single Canadian parents who pay more than 30 per cent of their income for modest accommodation. Turner said his government would make up the difference each month. He estimated the program would cost \$144 million during a full year. Of those who would be eligible for the new cushion, 50 per cent are women.

The mere fact that the three party leaders agreed to this week's televised debate on women's issues stands as evidence of progress. To the growing number of women, sponsored by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the debate should be viewed as under political terms. It will almost certainly give voters their last chance before Sept. 4 to see Tynes, Conservative

Leader Brian Mulroney and the New Democrats' Ed Broadbent in a face-to-face debate. A strong showing by Turner could help to erase voters' memories of his halting performance in last month's televised debates.

National Action Committee (NAC) president Chavron Black, a University of Toronto literature professor, was determined to make the debate a sharply focused one. "Everybody is glad to hear all three leaders say that they are committed to the equality of women," she declared last week. "Now we want to hear in precise terms what they will do to improve our position." Black is convinced that by presenting the three leaders to flesh out their generally vague promises on women's issues the debate will provide a major service to voters. "If someone writes an article to answer a study, there's nothing you can do to force them," she conceded. "But I think frankly it's to their advantage to be specific." Among the key issues:

Equal pay for work of equal value Although the principle sounds simple and compelling, the issue is complicated by the fact that men and women historically have not performed the same kinds of work, and employers argue that an adjustment to equal pay could trigger a severe strain on the economy. Turner has promised to support the six-year-old equal-pay program for federal employees and to extend it to



Campagnie's claim of voter recruitment



women working in federal Crown corporations. He has also pledged to require private employers doing business with the federal government to give women equal pay. For his part, Mulroney has promised only to study the institutions of the federal program and to consider a voluntary program in the private sector. Broadbent has been the most aggressive, pledging to be more stringent in enforcing the federal program. He has also promised that, if elected, he would require both the federal civil service and the private sector to hire women through affirmative action programs.

Day care: Thousands of women feel that they are being kept out of the work force by the absence of adequate, government-funded day care facilities. Although day care is primarily a provincial responsibility, they are looking to the federal party for a clear signal that they would be prepared to pursue the provincial funding and encouragement to provide the needed services. Turner is still waiting for the recommendations of a government task force on day care before settling out his policies. Mulroney, too, has been equally vague, promising only to negotiate discussions with the provinces while Broadbent has gone one step further—proposing legislation guaranteeing women affordable, accessible day care, but also without indicating how much such a program would cost or how it would be funded.

Pension reform: Statistics show that one in 10 women over 65 are living in poverty, and women's rights activists believe that the next generation could be in a worse predicament when Ottawa gives answerless women access to the Canada Pension Plan (CPP). A parliamentary committee has suggested a formula under which beneficiaries would pay into the CPP and draw from it when they turn 65. Turner had not yet committed himself to the recommendation, but his advisors said before the debate that he was seriously considering it. Mulroney has endorsed the plan, and Broadbent has not only promised to expand the CPP to take in answerless women, he has indicated that, if elected, he would immediately double old age pensions as well.

The two-hour debate on these issues and others in the Canadian Room of Ottawa's Royal York Hotel clearly constituted a milestone in the political evolution of Canadian women. But women across the political spectrum are ambivalent about whether the 1984 election represents a genuine breakthrough. "We've become important because the media have become aware that women are important," said Conservative MP Flores Macdonald. "It's the 'in' thing. What we have to do is make that attention persistent—not like waves that wash in and out."

Judy Eaton, the federal minister responsible for the status of women, contends that the campaign constitutes a

substantial gain over the 14 women who were elected in 1980, and a far cry from 1982, when Agnes Macphail took her seat as the first woman elected to the House of Commons. Said Valerie Preston, the 1982 co-ordinator of women's activities: "It's in developmental stage. We will have a base of women to work with."

As part of that development, a new breed of astute and politically polished female candidates is emerging as the federal leaders. One who is considered likely to win in St. Catharines, a former journalist and member of the Ontario legislature who is running for the Liberals in Hamilton East, the riding held by former cabinet minister John Macrae since 1981. The daughter of a popular

line, the Toey constable in the Vancouver riding of Capilano, as one of their star candidates, A 43-year-old public relations consultant, Coffey holds her ground in 1979 when she became executive officer to the late Premier John Robarts of Ontario. Coffey recalls that "great concern" blew up over the appointment of a woman to such a senior job. A single parent with three children, Coffey is aware that a political career will mean surrendering control of her life. "You have to be totally committed," she says.

Another newcomer in the now-Liberals' ranks, who is rising in the riding of Winnipeg-St. James, The 29-year-old executive director of the Manitoba Federation of Labor's occupational health centre has a tough battle on her hands, against Liberal Darren Rybeck and Tory George Misson. The坐位 was won by only 400 votes in 1980. "It's tight, but it's winnable," she says. Deneen, who is an activist, says that all the women she has met from the previous elections that were close to them in the past "were especially treated." She says, "By the older women who grab my hand, smile and say, 'We need more women there, don't we?'"

One consequence of that new political freedom has been the emergence of the "gender gap" in American polls that refers to the distinct difference in party preferences between men and women. But even though the gender gap is a novel political phenomenon, Jill Vilcock, a political science professor at Ottawa's Carleton University, argues that the concept is still poorly understood. After two years of studying women's voting patterns since 1984, she concluded that there are, in fact, two different gender gaps. The first, evident almost across women was the vote, shows that men and women have divergent views on crucial key issues. Women are stronger supporters of social security programs and have always been more strongly opposed to war. But in the past five years political analysts have also noticed that women and men tend to support different political parties.

That pattern shows up in several recent surveys. A poll conducted last month after the election by Carleton University journalists students for Newsweek found that the Liberals drew more female supporters and the Conservatives more men. Among voters cast off to the Liberals, 50 per cent were women and 41 per cent were men. Conservative support broke down to appear to be 39 per cent women and 48 per cent men.

Bud Vickery warns that the trend may have shifted in recent weeks because of Broadbent's catch-all populist blustering and Mulroney's strong performance in



Coppa at Hamilton shoe plant; even if 40 women win, the Commons will be male-dominated

last month's televised debates. Indeed it has, according to last week's *Southern News* poll. The results of the survey, taken after the debate, indicated that the Liberals' support among women had dropped to 38 per cent from 50 per cent, while Conservative support increased to 46 per cent from 38 per cent and the NDP went to 35.5 per cent from eight. But in advance of this week's debate, 22 per cent of the women—compared to 15

per cent of the men—said men's issues

so far, the differences among the three party platforms are more in emphasis than in basic philosophy. And some women reveal the fact that child care, pension reform and equality in the workplace are lumped under the heading of women's issues. Said Flora MacDonald, an MP for 22 years and the Tory critic on women's issues: "It is great shorthand for the headlines, but the impression it leaves is that these are the only issues women are capable of fitting. All the rest are men's issues."

Less subtle, and more troubling, is straightforward discrimination based on sex. Many women say they have encountered discrimination simply because they tried to enter politics. One of them is Brenda Robertson, wife of an independent businessman, who became New Brunswick's first female member of the legislature 17 years ago. Robertson, who has served as the province's minister of social programs, recalled her early days as a cabinet minister, saying, "A lot of men really didn't want women to introduce on the men's club." After serving as minister of youth and minister of social services for four years, she stepped out of politics in 1974, exhausted. But two years later a rested Robertson returned to the area determined to be a more toughie politician.

At the opposite end of the country, Ima Campagnolo, president of the Liberal party and one of the most visible women in federal politics, said that some return meant her because of her sex. At first she thought her main critics in North Vancouver-Burnaby were strident articularists who opposed her long-held pro-choice stand. But lately she has come to a different conclusion. "It is becoming clearer that the campaign against me is not so much about abortion as about women and power," she told *Maclean's* Vancouver bureau chief Jim O'Brien last week. "I represent a woman who is close to power. That is why I am dangerous to them [the ultraconservatives]."

Other women, however, dismiss such conspiracy theories. Ontario Minister of Education Irene Stephen, 36, one, and she has never encountered discrimination or paternalism. The 46-year-old former family doctor suggested, in fact, that women are better suited to politics than men. Said Stephen: "I think that because they are biologically, anatomically and endocrinologically superior to men, they have advantages. They really are the stronger vessels." As if to prove her own theory, Stephen took only three weeks of work when each of her six children were born.

More often than not, freely responsibilities or money problems—not discrimination—bar women from the politi-

Capita's Sparrow: the first woman?

per cent of the men polled—remained undecided.

Bud Vickery doubts that gender-gap voting in Canada will ever be as significant as it is in American politics, where some estimates peg women to be 10 to 15 per cent more likely to vote for the Democratic candidate. "I think that because they are biologically, anatomically and endocrinologically superior to men, they have advantages. They really are the stronger vessels." As if to prove her own theory, Stephen took only three weeks of work when each of her six children were born.

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The Conservative point is Mary Col-

COVER

cal process. The SWP's Valerie Preston has lost count of the number of women who have declined to run for the party. Their reasons, they felt they could not deprive their families of the time needed to campaign or ask their husbands to move to Ottawa if they won. Still others could not afford to take a two-month

Malpeque, has a pleased air her office wall that defines the dilemma of some politically minded women. It reads: "I wanted to go out and change the world, but I couldn't find a boyfriend." But times are changing for some of those who have made child care arrangements or taken leave from work to run for office. Election day could prove rewarding. In Quebec 55-year-old



Reiko: "How many men are going to ask a female cabinet minister out to dinner?"

leaves of absence from a low-paying job. Even among women who do enter the political arena, some confess to having doubts. Jean Dumas, Saskatchewan's minister of consumer and environmental affairs, who went from being the wife of a drugstore owner in Maple Creek to the provincial legislature in 1976, said, "At first I took on a feeling of guilt" and tried to compensate by "being a supermom and a superwife." After an interesting year in which she tried to excel in all aspects of her life, her husband and four children convinced her not to try as hard and relax occasionally.

Despite the individual advancements, juggling public and private lives is still difficult for women. Tess Hebs, 38, a one-of-a-kind woman MP candidate in Nova Scotia and the former RCMP worker has the formidable challenge of trying to defeat Energy Minister Gerald Regan in Halifax. Her party encourages women to run by giving each female candidate a \$500 grant for household expenses, and Hebs has used the money to hire a housekeeper. Despite that assistance and support from her husband, who is self-employed, she has had to impose on her three sons, aged 14, 12 and 7 that she is busy. "They know I can't go to an event after the election," she said. And Janet Morgan, a farm wife who is also raising her children as an NDP candidate in the P.E.I. riding of

Sheila Finestone, married with four sons, the Liberal candidate who is running to succeed former prime minister Pierre Trudeau in the riding of Mount Royal, is the odds-on favorite. Another is Louise Pépin, 48, the former president of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, who is running for the Liberals in nearby Outremont, a riding

Hebs: \$500 grant for women candidates



held by retiring Finance Minister Marc Lalonde. The other main parties also fielded women candidates in both affluent ridings. And in the Eastern Townships, southeast of Montreal, Gabrielle Bertrand, the 61-year-old widow of former Quebec premier Jean-Jacques Bertrand and mother of 19 communications minister Jean-François Bertrand, has a good chance of returning Mississauga to the Tory fold. Manitoba, in the Tory stronghold of Alberta, where winning a Conservative majority virtually guarantees a seat in the House of Commons, Helen Sparrow, a 58-year-old businesswoman and mother of four, is running in Calgary South and is expected to become the first woman MP elected in Alberta.

Still others, now running as incumbents, hope to welcome a new wife of whom to the Parliament Hill. They include Diane Abbott, who was expected to retain her seat for the New Westminister-Capilano, and Tory government critic Pet Rooney, who is fighting to hold onto Vancouver Centre. Flores MacDonald will have no difficulty holding Kingston and the Islands for the Conservatives. But Edna, who holds the women's portfolio, is not assured of re-election in Sudbury. Neddy Bell, 49, is Louise McDonald, an NDP member trying to win a second term in the Toronto riding of Broadview-Greenwood. That small band of female parliamentary veterans, scattered through the three major parties, shares another distinction: they are all single women.

Even if the party forums prove true and roughly 40 women are elected next month, they would still constitute only 14 per cent of the membership of the Commons. Parliament, for the immediate future at least, will remain a male-dominated institution. Saskatchewan's Duncan says she doubts that she will live to see equal numbers of men and women elected to legislatures in Canada. Of all the women currently in federal politics, Edna, the only female co-chairwoman of the four-woman Liberal election committee, likely walks the most power. Edna, a 50-year-old widow, who is fighting to keep her Sudbury seat, actually said that her 20-year-run to political stardom had been achieved without damage to her private life. Then the ministerial call to reflect. "You know, the answer," she said, "is a female cabinet minister. Still, Edna and the other women trying to enter Parliament want the chance to sit same day at the cabinet table. They are no longer willing to settle for seats at the dinner table alone."

With Jane O'Brien in Vancouver, Gordon Legge in Calgary and correspondence from

COVER

Changing roles for political wives



Broadbent, Mahoney: gentle pioneers caught uncomfortably between the expectations of different generations of voters



By Carol Goar

Georgia Turner, a career single mother, has Mita Mahoney in her hair at church, a crowd is gathered around the leader of the Opposition in And Lucille Broadbent is concerned that her husband, Ed, would stay home if their roles were reversed and she had the more demanding career. The wives of the three federal leaders are distinctly different women. And, as they move through the glare of election publicity, they are changing the image of political wives who are grappling with that delicate issue on the campaign trail.

Unlike the 200 women fighting aggressively for seats in the House of Commons, the three spouses know how to gently proceed. They are caught simultaneously in the expressions of different generations of voters. Many older citizens expect the Prime Minister's wife to be a smiling, supportive helpmate. But the women's liberation movement transformed perceptions of the role that a politician's wife should play. Younger voters begin looking to the Prime Minister's wife, in particular, as an archetype of the modern woman—someone who pursued her own goals, even if she was married to a man who headed the government.

The terrain created by the competing

expectations caused Margaret Trudeau and Margaret McTeer conflicting grief. Trudeau observed in her memoirs: "A few people wrote to tell me that they admired me for my independence and courage. Many more considered me willful and disastrous." McTeer, in turn, bristled under criticism from older Conservatives that she should not have retained her maiden name when she married former Tory leader Joe Clark. Clearly, the wife of the next Prime Minister will have to find a compromise between old and new, and all three leading wives are grappling with that delicate issue on the campaign trail.

Mitchell Turner told Maclean's in an interview aboard Turner's chartered 747 that a wife of a party leader's office should not be rigidly defined. It very much depends on the woman. Turner, a systems engineer with the now defunct Boeing she married at age 25 and mothered four children, noted, "I'm of a different generation than Margaret and Margaret's 44. I guess I came at the tail end of the stay-at-home wife generation. But then I wanted to stay home and be with my children." Looking back on the possibility of living in the prime ministerial residence, she added, "Hopefully, I'm enough older than Margaret and Margaret that it would be easier for me to reconcile the two roles with one Ed in

each camp. I'd like to think I can be a supportive wife with enough independence to make some sort of contribution on my own."

Indeed, Turner had an unexpected opportunity to play the supportive wife last week as her husband's campaign swing through Quebec. During a lone chevron stop in Trois Rivières a water accidentally spilled coffee on Turner's lap. While some members stood guard outside a restaurant washroom, Turner slipped off of her stained trousers and gave them to Ruthie Desjardins, the minister's friend. Then, to Gillie Turner's chagrin, the minister's entourage for cleaning but in addition to traditional services, Turner vowed that use of her contributions will be to keep her husband in touch with ordinary Canadians. "A Prime Minister doesn't have time to take a deep breath and see what it's like in the grocery store," she said. "I hope I will be allowed to be the same person as before and people will feel free to talk to me."

During the first half of the campaign Turner took a long-planned one-week vacation with her two youngest sons, David, 16, and Andreew, 12, in the Alberta foothills. When she joined Elizabeth, 20, and her husband on the campaign trail, Michael, 18, is staying in Toronto to work as a day camp counselor. On the

road, Turner carries her own bags most of the time and lingers on the fringe of crowds shaking hands and chatting, while Turner works in the spotlights. "I deliberately go to the sidebars and talk to people who would be intimidated to come up to the Prime Minister," she explained. Recently, when the jet made a refueling stop, she delighted onlookers by kicking off her shoes and tossing a frisbee on the tarmac with Elizabeth and a Turner aide. Turner will begin campaigning for her own seat this week in Yukon.

The Conservatives would not dream of sending Brian and Milla Maloney in different directions. The 31-year-old wife of the Opposition leader often leaves her husband for after hours to visit a children's hospital, speak at a ladies' lunch or tour a senior citizens' home. But the couple comes together when Maloney has a major rally, passing through the crowd and mounting the stage hand-in-hand. Maloney agrees with Ontario Premier William Davis who said last week that "Milla will get more votes for you than you will for yourself."

Still, Maloney is the most traditional of the three wives and she makes no apology for being old-fashioned. "I think it is kind of a compliment that I made a lot of choices and decisions on my own and that people are still comfortable with me because I do not threaten their choices and decisions," she said in an interview last week with Maclean's reporter Terry Hargreaves. At the same time, Milla intends to finish the engineering course that she quit at Sir George Williams University (now Concordia)—three courses short of her electrical engineering degree—which she started Maloney in 1973. Eventually, says Milla, she dreams of "getting to some sort of little business." But all that is eight years from now. "That's a two-door-year term," Maloney laughs confidently.

She admits she still finds it difficult to give full-length speeches. "I don't mind speaking just a few notes, but reading a text that I've written—I write my own stuff—is something I really have to work on because it's so new." Barely pausing for breath, she added, "And I am going to work on it."

The Blainvilles had a long talk with their three children, Caroline, 16, Sophie



Turner: an opportunity to be a supportive wife

and Eli, 8, and Max, 5, before launching into the campaign. The family agreed that the children should join their parents occasionally, but not for the whole tour. Noted Milla: "They can't be entertained on the bus. They can't have exercise. Two whole months is just too much strain." The two older children are attending camp in Algoma Park until September, while Max will be staying with Milla's mother in Montreal. Milla

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that, unlike her husband, she had not been elected to speak for the party. After some soul-searching, she decided that she could help and graciously passed her husband on innumerable tours of steel plants, paper mills and shopping centres. Still, five years later the 45-year-old farmer's wife and school teacher is not completely comfortable with her role in the campaign. "It's very difficult to define the role of the politician's wife," she said during a recent in-depth interview with Maclean's Hargreaves. "The politician has been elected democratically and therefore he represents a certain constituency and party view. She is with him in a different position. She is not elected. Maybe if she wanted to take a definite position, he or she should be elected to a post in the party."

That slight sense of unease affects Lucille Broadbent's behavior as the campaign trail. She manages to crowd with genuine warmth. But unlike Milla Maloney, she rarely speaks in public. Still, Broadbent, a francophone who grew up in Ottawa, Ont., was quick to supplement her husband's early French at a Massival meeting of 200 workers last month. Pushing past the glare of the television lights that blinded her view of the audience, she climbed up on a chair to tell the 100 workers that she and Broadbent appreciated their dedication and enthusiasm. She plans to spend most of her time in the final half of the campaign knocking on doors for her husband in his home riding of Ottawa, where he holds a comfortable 13,000-vote majority.

At first glance, Lucille Broadbent appears to be a traditional stay-at-home partner. But that is a way of living that came only after two careers and six years as a single mother supporting a son, Paul, now 34, after her first marriage ended in legal分离. The Broadbents had another daughter, Christine, 21, who is now married with family friend Paul, serving with the Armed Forces in Ottawa. Broadbent is convinced that her husband, who earns \$64,815 as an MP and party leader, would stay home if their roles were reversed. Said Broadbent: "If I had some kind of career that demanded that he look after the household, I feel that he would be willing to do it. I think that is very important in a relationship."

Lucille Broadbent is unlikely to confront the adjustments of becoming a Prime Minister's spouse. But either Gells Turner or Milla Maloney will become the first wife to live at 24 Sussex Drive since Margaret Trudeau and Joe Clark lived there until after the 1980 election. Clearly, being the wife of the Prime Minister is one of the most challenging jobs a Canadian woman can have. □

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U.S. minesweeping helicopter putting sensors into a test run in a dispersing mystery in the dangerous waters of the Middle East

WORLD

Danger on the high seas

By Robin Wright

It was a week of uncertainty and fear for the crews of oil tankers and other vessels plying the dangerous waterways of the Middle East as the month began between Iran and Iraq continued to simmer. In the Red Sea alone at least 10 ships have suffered damage since July 10, and last week Egyptian authorities claimed that an unaffiliated group had planted mines in the very shallow lanes leading to the Suez Canal. In the southwest Persian Gulf, Iraq responded to attacks after a month's ban on all tankers carrying Iranian crude. Iraq officials claimed responsibility for firing heat-seeking missiles at the T12945—Greek-owned, Liberian-registered supertanker Friendship I. Officials of the Greek merchant marine ministry said that the vessel had survived a direct hit which punctured a fuel tank near the engine room and that the ship would go to Dubai for repairs. Said the Friendship I's owners: "It could be Iranian or Libyans."

Although they were closer in scale, the incidents in two of the world's most important shipping routes prompted near-panic among shipping companies. Never before have both strategic sea

lanes faced a simultaneous threat. It was the mines in the Red Sea that triggered the West's alarm. The heavily used approaches to the Suez Canal accommodate an average of 60 ships a day. Egyptian officials last week hurriedly ap-

The attacks on ships set off a near-panic in the world's oil shipping firms, but the cause remained a mystery

pealed for sophisticated U.S. Sikorsky CH-53D mine-clearing helicopters to make the seas safer. Both Britain and France have pledged to lend additional equipment. But Cairo was unable to respond to any authoritative who had planted the mines. Said Egyptian Defense Minister Abd-el-Halim Abu-Ghanda: "We think it almost 70 percent proven that it could be Iranians or Libyans."

Other officials were more cautious. Said one Cairo-based Western diplomat: "It has the hallmark of Iran written all over it." Indeed, the Islamic led many

observers to conclude that Tehran had been involved, possibly indirectly, with sowing the mines. Another suspect was Libya, which under its controversial leader, Col. Muammar Khaddafi, is one of Iran's few allies in the Arab world. Indeed, naval authorities reported that several Libyan container ships passed through the Red Sea shortly before the first explosions. According to the report, one Libyan ship moreover managed to—according to Western naval sources—change course and heading south.

By now it's the end of the mystery. Daren Washington-based ambassador from the gulf region, fully repudiated the theory of Libyan involvement. An anonymous oilman in newsgroups in London had claimed that a shadowy organization known as Islamic Jihad (Holy War) had placed 100 mines in the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez. Islamic Jihad is the most west that claimed responsibility for truck bomb attacks on French and U.S. peacekeeping troops in Lebanon last year, attacks that claimed nearly 300 lives. But most Middle East experts do not believe that such a group exists, other than as a cover. Rather, they suspect that Islamic Jihad is simply a松散的松散组织 used by several small pro-Iranian organizations.

For its part, Iran flatly denied charges that it was involved in the mystery of the Red Sea mines. Still, a spokesman for the Iranian government, speaking on Tehran Radio, applauded the development as a blow against Western nations. He concluded: "This incident added to the series of failures experienced by the arrogant powers in our Islamic region." And Western diplomats said that Iran had a strong interest in causing trouble for the English and that it wanted to deprive and irritate Saudi Arabia for financially supporting Iraq in the gulf war. Since last Friday, Saudi Arabia's first Iranian oil tanker to have been a short way to gain territory from Iran in 1980, the Saudis have pumped approximately \$30 billion into Baghdad's cause—so little effort. Now, Iraq is almost bankrupt, and the war is at a stalemate. Since last March Iraq and, to a lesser degree, Iran have attacked oil tankers calling at Persian Gulf ports. Iraq claimed that it intended to strangle Iran's economy by cutting off its vital oil exports. And Tehran declared it could not allow either nation's free access to the gulf while its ships faced attack. Observers attributed last month's fall in tanker attacks to direct Saudi pressure on Iraq.

As 200 U.S. warships flew to the Red Sea to begin helicopter minesweeping operations, U.S. officials were intensely analyzing the mining smarts. "The mining itself is not particularly effective," commented one Reagan administration source who did not wish to be identified. He said that the damage to all 14 tankers has been limited to scope. But, the source added, the spreading fear within the shipping community undermined the effectiveness of the strategy. He added, "It is psychological warfare par excellence."

For his part, Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hossein Mousavi contended that Iranian oil had been stolen and sabotaged in the Suez Canal. Mousavi declared that "the Islamic Republic of Iran could not sit by and watch its ships halted in the Suez Canal while others sailed freely." The Egyptians, who last week admitted that they had searched Libyan and Iranian ships passing through the canal, insisted that each cleared by U.S. inspectors, their territorial waters will again be safe. However, U.S. officials said they doubted that the security of the Red Sea could be guaranteed. That was a disturbing assessment for the tens of thousands of tons of crude, Mousavi, who next month will cross the Red Sea from Africa on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. Said one Reagan administration source, about the wiring: "It could happen again and again."

With Ross Frisch in Cairo

IRAN

Khomeini's dark plan

A s international shipping authorities steered themselves against the rising dangers in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, aviation authorities last week expressed concern about a simultaneous increase of airline hijackings. Some of them involved Iranian forces or agents; three Lebanese followers of Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini

took the nervous and exhausted passengers into custody.

Potential analysts said that the two hijackings may have been a reflection of Iran's assertive and often ruthless internal politics. Various intelligence sources have claimed that Khomeini, 82, is seriously ill and that a nervous struggle for leadership may be under way. And one diplomatic "Something does seem to be up over there."

Western authorities say that factions within the government are splitting into two groups, the pragmatists and the Islamic ideologues. The pragmatists are led by Iranian President Mohammad Ali Khamenei, who favors a conciliatory solution to the nation's unresolved four-year war with Iraq. The war has proven costly not only in human terms—an estimated 500,000 Iranian men and boys have died in the fighting—but economically as well. The Iranian economy is near collapse, and the pragmatists favor a more conciliatory approach toward Western nations in return for economic co-operation.

For their part, the ideologues, led by speaker of the parliament Hashemi Rafsanjani, still for winning the war against Iraq at all costs. Still, former Iranian president Abolhassan Banisadr, who now lives in exile in France, and his wife that both Khamenei and Khomeini may join forces, at least temporarily, to prevent ultra-hard-liners from taking over. Other Iranians took the perils of route of last week's low-glossion and fled from the tightly regimented nation, using one of the few means possible: hijacking civilian aircrafts.

At the same time, some veteran political observers insisted that Khomeini's health may not be as bad as some reports claim. They add that the Ayatollah may yet be nominated his successor to who would exploit his death for personal gain in a power vacuum. But last week, in a speech broadcast on Tehran Radio, the doorkeeper sounded remarkably healthy when he strongly condemned members of an internal struggle. "The Islamic revolution," he said, "is not dependent on individuals." And, whatever the system's condition, the Iranian revolution remains firmly entrenched and at still enjoy a popular support. Whoever eventually succeeds Khamenei, Iran's next and ongoing foreign policy is unlikely to change. —JAMES MITCHELL, with Robert Wright in Washington



Known as a fierce and ruthless political

Khomeini

Khomeini, appalled as Air France Flight 737 July 31 en route to Paris from Frankfurt and ordered the pilot to fly to Tehran. In the Iranian capital all 35 passengers and five crew members were allowed to leave the aircraft, but the hijackers exploded a bomb in the aircraft's cockpit, causing extensive damage. Then, last week, a lone hijacker surrendered as an Iranian Airbus carrying 200 passengers made Iran. In that case the hijacker was a member of anti-Khomeini forces. He handed the pilot to Khomeini, where he released the unarmed passengers. Iranian authorities

Campaigning on a taxing issue

Republican reaction to the attack suggested that Walter Mondale had scored a direct hit. When the Democratic presidential nominees exchanged last month that the White House has a secret plan for raising taxes if President Ronald Reagan is re-elected. So, the president's "adversary" argued, Mondale was "not telling the truth." Shifting to the president's defense, Treasury Secretary Donald Re-

that other taxes would rise.

Even last week, after ending his unqualified assault on raising the tax burden, Reagan's own vice-president undercut him. "Gentlemen can change one way or the other," George Bush said after a meeting at the Reagan ranch near Santa Barbara. "Any president would have an option open."

Mondale's tax offensive drew support from some unconventional sources, in-



Parrino and Mondale in New York City; Reagan's tax-cutting plan overruled

gan firmly told a congressional committee last week that there were "no plans for tax increases in 1985 by this administration." And in California, where he was enjoying an 18-day vacation before next week's Republican National Convention, Reagan himself declared, "We have no plans for, nor will I allow any plans for a tax increase." Period.

What got the administration clearly on the defensive was Mondale's extremely bluntly worded confirmation at last month's Democratic National Convention that he aimed to end the federal deficit by raising taxes. Taxes, Reagan, Mondale agreed, had an important place—but he did not intend to tell a person about it. Rather, presidential efforts to point those charges only served to give them new life, precisely the effect the Mondale camp had hoped to create. Reagan said at a news conference last month that there would be no tax increases in 1985. Then the president maintained he would not raise personal income taxes—a statement that many observers interpreted as a clear signal

against Republican state governors, several congressional Republicans and several officials from within the administration who spoke of the record. Indeed, with five exceptions, the prevailing view among economists in both parties is that tax increases are almost inevitable next year in order to bring down the federal deficit. Unless the deficit is reduced, experts fear a new cycle of inflation and higher rates of unemployment. Addressing congressional and economic committees last week, Treasury Secretary Reagan disputed that gloomy scenario. Continued growth, he said, would raise revenues and lower the deficit without requiring tax increases.

Last week, Mondale pledged in reducing the Reagan deficit by two-thirds in the first term



—MICHAEL FORDER
in Washington

But at the same time analysts question the effectiveness of his specific proposal for reaching that goal. The Mondale campaign has vowed to raise \$60 billion in new taxes, largely by adding levies to Americans earning more than \$35,000 per annum. Mondale also intends to slash the military budget by \$70 billion. However, he proposes to increase federal spending for job and aid programs by \$30 billion. But his own economic advisers are telling him that taxes alone may not be enough to yield enough revenue to make a sizable dent in the deficit. To meet his goals, they argue, Mondale might be forced to adopt the more politically risky course of raising taxes for the middle class.

Religion was another theme that marked the opening stages of the 1984 presidential campaign last week. The topic arose from Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro's statement last month that Reagan was not a good Christian because his policies were, in her view, in atheist. Then, Roman Catholic Ferraro's views—an observation she personally opposed but favors a pro-choice policy—prompted an unusual intervention in politics from John J. O'Connor, the archbishop of New York. O'Connor said "heavily a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion."

New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, one of Ferraro's strongest backers, argued that O'Connor's views meant that as Catholic he would be able to vote for New York City Mayor Ed Koch and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, both of whom favor the pro-choice option. O'Connor then answered, saying his "sole responsibility" was to church teachings.

But a statement issued last week by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops seemed to leave the issue unresolved. The statement asserts that bishops avoid adopting partisan positions for or against political candidates. Yet it qualifies, "when politicians can ethically separate their privately held views from public policy positions. Read the letter: "We repeat the idea that candidates satisfy the requirements of rational analysis by saying their personal views should not influence their policy decisions." This implied dictatorial, the letter added, "is simply not logically tenable." The impact of the advice remains uncertain. But arguments over the role of religion in politics are likely to remain a prominent feature of the presidential campaign.

—MICHAEL FORDER
in Washington



Mugabe: repealing a hard-fought independence, threatened by corruption

ZIMBABWE

Mugabe's pragmatic Marxism

They gathered on the grandstand bleachers of Harare's lush suburban Borrowdale race track to consider the future of their party and their nation. Last week 6,000 Zanu (People's) party members of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) met for their first party congress since the nation's independence in 1980. And the party's majority of Marxist leaders were almost unanimous in their agreement that the occasion, Pres. Robert Mugabe's 50th birthday, was "Zanu's Bolivar."

Mugabe concluded that one solution to Zimbabwe's entrenched political and economic crisis is to change the nation's British-sponsored constitution. He has proposed a constitutional amendment to make the offices of T-6 million a one-party state. Last week the ZANU delegates overwhelmingly endorsed the proposal, and Mugabe argued that he will interpret a victory for his party as next February's election as a mandate to amend the constitution. That victory seems likely, many observers said. In fact, they say that Zimbabweans have already embarked on the course that will see the nation join the ranks of most other black African nations which have established single-party systems. It is the past year followers of Opposition Leader Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu) party have grown increasingly disengaged by continuing government crackdowns. Many of the delegates attending last week's ZANU congress were recent converts from Nkomo's party.

Mugabe may well achieve his goal of uniting an ethnically diverse country where political and party lines have been blurred since the days of the dominant Shona tribe (ZANU) and the minority Ndebele (zapu). But he will face a far more difficult task implementing his plan for greater socialism. The pragmatic leader has carefully allowed the white-dominated private sector to function unhindered. He was anxious to prevent an exodus of skilled white businesspeople and, more importantly, white farmers, whose maize, tobacco and cotton crops form the backbone of a basically agricultural economy. As well, he has tried to encourage foreign investment and international aid. But recently Mugabe's two-track economic policy has come under increasing strain. The once-blooming agricultural sector is reeling from a disastrous three-year drought and a slow but steady emigration of discouraged white farmers. As a result, food production in the parched interior is plummeting and the nation's economy is in a steep decline. Unemployment is rising, while inflation has soared above 30 percent.

For Mugabe, last week's ZANU congress proved a personal triumph. Party delegates unanimously endorsed a major party constitution that advocates ZANU to seek a one-party state. Mugabe deftly avoided influencing representatives from various factions who have often competed ruthlessly for power. He was overwhelming supported—especially from influential blocs of women and youth delegations who have argued that the nation's hard-fought independence has been tarnished by growing official corruption and sexism. The culture of exception has been especially divisive, with disaffected ZANU leaders bitterly suggesting that Mugabe lacked the authority and principles of the party to confront close colleagues accused of corruption. Indeed, despite Mugabe's parsimonious personal style, many of his own ministers drive Mercedes-Benz limousines and employ personal bodyguards.

Still, although Mugabe has pledged to increase state participation in big industries and to move Zimbabwe into closer alignment with Eastern Bloc nations, most observers contend that the nation is unlikely to change radically in the near future. They say that the prime minister recognises the viability of the mixed economy that he has fostered. Said one Western diplomat: "We do not like the rhetoric but it is the actions that count and at the end of the day we think that Mugabe is at the top."

—ALLISON SPARKS in Harare

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Canada honors its golden heroes

By Hal Quine

FORTY-five days, the Games of the XXIII Olympiad unfolded as a vast athletic spectacle dominated by memorable performances, enthusiastic crowds and soaring American flag-wavers. By almost any standard the Los Angeles Olympics were a resounding success, even though the Soviet Union and 14 other countries boycotted them and several minor disputes—along with one major controversy—erupted in gymnastics-judge bungles, the entire show deserved at least a 95—in entertainment, athletic excellence and organizational achievement. The host nation, taking full advantage of the absence of hundreds of star athletes from the Communist Bloc, utterly dominated the medal standings. But other nations enjoyed major moments in the California sunshiny, too. Among them was Canada, which had won an unprecedented 39 gold, 17 silver and 16 bronze medals as the final day of competition began on Sunday.

In essence, Canada came of athletic age at Los Angeles. Canadian swimmers, boxers, divers, cyclists, rowers and paddlers established themselves as legitimate world-class performers. And Canadian specialists in most other fields served notice that if they were still a step slower, if their leaps were a centimeter or two shorter than their foreign rivals, the gaps were steadily narrowing. Said an exuberant Jack Lynch, technical director of the Canadian Olympic Association: "I have never seen such an exciting evolution of an international Canadian team. Our performance at Los Angeles is really a continuation from [predecessor] Gaston Brodeur's two gold medals at Sarajevo this winter." Perhaps fittingly, the next athlete to carry the Olympic flame into an arena will be a Canadian, the site will be Calgary and the occasion will be the 1988 Winter Games, at which Canada's athletes and their newfound legion of fans will expect the march toward excellence to continue.

Last week Canada applauded gold-medal performances by its heavy eight crew with roars, who stood to the front and acclaimed a determined American crew over the 2,000-m course on Lake Casitas, river Sylvie Bernier, 21, of Ste-Foy, Que., who won a dramatic duel on the springboard with runner-up Kelley McCormick of the United States, came second Larry Carr, 21, of Oakville, Ont., who won the 500-m singles event and



took a silver in the 1,000-m, kayakers Hugh Fisher and Alwyn Morris in the 1,000-m pairs, and Lorn Feng, 21, of Vancouver, who captured the all-around women's championship in rhythmic gymnastics.

The past week the previous week's honor roll of medal winners included another Alice Hazzard, Vassar Davis and Anne Gitterman, as well as pistol ace Linda Thorne. The total medal haulout by Canada far surpassed the nation's previous best—the 35 medals collected at the 1976 Olympics, also held in Los Angeles. And it represented a standard for Canadian athletes to work to better at the 1988 Summer Games in Seoul.

The Los Angeles Games were a celebration of the host country. From the Hollywood-style opening ceremonies to

the cheers, too, for the People's Republic of China's 15 gold medalists, who competed for the first time alongside athletes from Taiwan.

The bitterest controversy broke out on Friday night, during the anatomy awards race for the gold medal in the women's 100-m sprint. The U.S. favorite, Myra Danner, was approaching the 2,700-m mark when Britain's Yvonne Budd attempted to cut in front of her to take the lead. Danner stepped on the back of Budd's leg and both women lost their balance. Danner pulled a muscle in her hip, and she was unable to continue. Budd, with cuts on her left leg, continued and ran away, but the highly acclaimed athlete finished a disappointing seventh, and Canada's Lynn Williams collected an unexpected third-place bronze.

"The way I raced," she said, "just wasn't good enough."

These were to have been the Carl Lewis Games, and in a way they were. But something happened in the celebratory atmosphere preceding Saturday's 100-m and 200-m dashes. The 18-year-old Lewis's goal was to match Jesse Owens' historic four gold medals at the 1936 Berlin Games, where Owens won the 100- and 200-m dashes, the 4x100-m relay and the long jump. Lewis matched Owens' record four, but the way on which he won tarnished his medals and perhaps cost him some of his gilt-edged future. After winning the 100-m sprint, Lewis toured the track waving an American flag. He did the same after winning the 200-m—but the



Boxer diving (opposite); O'Sullivan vs. British boxer Douglas, above; in action, Canada comes of athletic age

canadian Bob Hope's garden party for U.S. medalists, from cheerleaders on local radio stations to ABC-TV's unashamed and widely noticed pro-American fervor, the U.S. hosts proclaimed, "We're all right" and the U.S. Olympics echoed the sentiment, dominating the Games as never before. By Sunday the Americans had won an astounding 169 medals, including 90 golds. West—not East—Germany also shone, with 56 medals and 30 golds, but the Chinese and Romanians also won tremendous applause from the American crowds. The shouts of "U.S.A." gave way to boisterous cheering for the Romanians' 83 medal winners for their refusal to join in Moscow's boycott. And there

A box empire at first signalled a foul, disqualifying Budd. But the British team lodged a protest, and officials overruled the disqualification for the 18-year-old Budd, who left spartan South Africa six months ago and rapidly obtained British citizenship in order to take part in the Games.

Budd was rechristened at being sidelined by the invincible Budd. "I hold her responsible for what happened," declared the American. "I was racing a very good race. My last thought was to get up, but I felt the muscle pull. All I could do was watch them run off." A visibly distraught Budd said she was hurt by the jeering she got from the partisan crowd. "I am not unhappy with

long jump had come between. Honored as the greatest athlete in the world, Lewis jumped 8.5 m on his first attempt and feasted on his nest.

More than \$5 million people had paid so much as \$50 to watch him, and to praise him. But rather than jump again in pursuit of the 16 world records of 8.5 m set by American Robert Beaman in Mexico City, Lewis walked the Coliseum in defeat, drunk from a paper cup and passed up his next four opportunities. He said later he wanted to avoid the risk of injury. But the announcement that his first and only jump had won the gold medal was greeted with jeers and boos from the crowd. For Jean Owsiany, the long jump was a test, one-fourth of a



Lewis in long jump: he matched Jesse Owens' record, but the way he won tarnished his triumph and his future

hectic trial. For Lewis, it rarely provoked disdain. Lewis may have matched Owens' Olympic fate, but he did not equal its quality.

For two days last week, not even Lewis could command the spotlight. Americans had won 16 of the past 18 Olympic decathlons they had entered. But last week the decathlon belonged to a Briton named Daley Thompson. Now 26, Thompson finished out of the medals in Montreal in 1976, but since then he has had a powerful claim in the title "world's greatest athlete." He won his first Olympic gold in Moscow in 1980. At the time, he kidded Bruce Jenner, who went Hollywood right after winning in 1976. Said Thompson: "Now I do fifteen-bliss moves!" But instead, Thompson, the son of a Boston macho and Nigerian mother (his name, "Daley," comes from the Nigerian phrase, "Nyala"), emerged "fog entered the house," beaten running for Los Angeles last year. Now he has won only the second in 16 years. Olympic decathletes, defeating world-record holder Juergen Hingsen of West Germany.

Thompson is irreverent, a natural comedian who faintly resembles U.S. film star and humorist Richard Pryor. In his victory lap around the Coliseum, Thompson acknowledged the fans by wearing a T-shirt reading: "Thanks America, for a good Games and a good time." The back of the shirt read: "But what about the TV coverage?" Explained Thompson later: "Well, it was so

awful" he would have best shot until the end. At a press conference following his victory he revealed another T-shirt which read: "Is the world's second-greatest athlete gay?"—a pointed reference to Carl Lewis. "Of course in Britain," said Thompson with a smile, "you cannot say."

In the boxing ring, heavyweight Mike deWitt, 23, of Grand Prairie, Alta., took a closely fought gold medal match Saturday, while Toronto's Shanes O'Reilly lost his gold-medal fight middle-weight fight with American Frank Tate, a corporate executive which accepted with grace. But the scoring of amateur fights all was done by committee. By all accounts, world-champion Paul Lutz is Christian Thomsen of Frederikshavn in their heavier medal heat on Tuesday. The judges ruled 3 to 2 for Thomsen; however, most of the decisions in three hand-to-hand contests in a row, which in this case, after a five-minute round, ended 4 to 1 for the Canadian, said O'Reilly than: "I've had some close decisions against me, too." Tate's gold-medal opponent, Fleety Tillman, had lost the bronze medal bout to Baby's Angelo Monone, but the jury overruled that one, too.

Happily, the only judge of excellence on the track is an electronic timer. And last week American Valerie Brines-Hooks was judged to be the fastest women's Olympian in both the 200-m. and 400-m dashes. "My coach told me that if I won the 200 and 400 I would be the queen of the world," she said. "That's exactly

how I feel." Brines-Hooks became the first athlete—man or woman—in Olympic history to win both of those demanding races. And she added a third gold with the U.S. women's relay team.

As an Olympiad of many feasts for Canada, none was more dazzling than the gold-medal victory by diver Bernier,

a thin five feet, three inches and weighs only 110 lb. Bernier was first in the three-means springboard at Canadian-U.S.-Mexican meet last year, but few gave her much chance for better than a bronze against the favored Kelly McCormick and her U.S. teammate Chris Seider. But Bernier prevailed under intense pressure—with her vertebrae. She had run into trouble in previous meets by conserving energy as the score-based instead of dives. Last week, however, Bernier ignored the commands and between dives listened to the band music from Philadelphia on her Walkman—she took the lead in the third of 10 dives and held the lead throughout. No statistician, though, said, "I had no idea I was even in the top three. I have been diving for 12 years, and knew that it's not good for me to know what place I am in." Bernier became the first Canadian to win an Olympic diving gold, and only the second to win an Olympic diving medal. Treas MacDonald of Hamilton, Ont., won a bronze in 1968.

Care, who declared that "cannabis is not a skill, it's just hard work," was only one of 20 young paddlers and canoeists who won medals at Lake Ontario, 135 km. miles north of Los Angeles. The best Olympics showing before these Games had been a gold and silver at Melbourne in 1956. But as Aug. 17 the men's heavy slalom, competing in rowing's prestige event, captured the first Canadian rowing gold since 1964 in Tokyo when George Blaquier and Roger Jackson won the coxless pairs event. Said Jim Jeg, technical co-ordinator of the Cana-

dian Amateur Rowing Association: "We decided 18 months ago to reorient the eight, and we put all of our eggs in that basket." Two of Joy's "eggs" were 26-year-old Tuscon twins Mills and Mark Evans. They had qualified for the Games in the pairs event but were assigned to join the eight. Said Mills: "Just before our race, I was sitting in our boat tent and I heard that the Spanish pair had won the silver medal. We had beaten them, so even at the last moment, I was wondering about our dreams." But the Canadian eight, rowing their 38-ft. West German-made shell, held off a final sprint by the Argentines to win by three seconds.

For their part, Canada's women won two silver rowing medals. Tricia Smith, 21, of Vancouver and Betty Craig, 25, of Brockville, Ont., just failed to catch the Romanian pair. And the Canadian four, with seamstress won yet another silver behind the powerful Australians. But Smith and Craig came perilously close to winning their medal when, shortly before their race, they started into the wrong lane during practice and collided with a singles and paddled by Heather Hattie of Mississauga, Ont. The bow of Hattie's boat struck Craig on the left side and knocked her into lake. Said Craig, after being treated for her slight—but embarrassing— injury: "Well, there go my oarsome chances."

In the yachting competition off Long Beach, Canada's Terry McLaughlin, 28, who was skipper of Canada 1 in the 1983 America's Cup, won another medal in the two-hull Flying Dutchman class with

crew Evert Blaauw. And Terry Nelson, 26, of Toronto, won a bronze in the single-handed Finn class, while Miles Pugh, 45, who won a silver medal for his native Denmark in 1960 before moving to Toronto, won a bronze in the Soling class.

At times the Games were more like Hollywood scenes tests their athletic competitiveness. Carl Lewis' agent spoke of his client's next post-Olympic potential, sprinter Evelyn Ashford called her gold medal a "ticket to fame and fortune" and discus thrower Thompson said that if Thompson doesn't end up with an award, Canadian athletes "will always be disappointed." Thompson had a tie with three others.

For their part, Canada's men won three silver rowing medals. Tricia Smith, 21, of Vancouver and Betty Craig, 25, of Brockville, Ont., just failed to catch the Romanian pair. And the Canadian four, with seamstress won yet another silver behind the powerful Australians. But Smith and Craig came perilously close to winning their medal when, shortly before their race, they started into the wrong lane during practice and collided with a singles and paddled by Heather Hattie of Mississauga, Ont. The bow of Hattie's boat struck Craig on the left side and knocked her into lake. Said Craig, after being treated for her slight—but embarrassing— injury: "Well, there go my oarsome chances."

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BUSINESS/ECONOMY

The markets' surprising swing

By Gillian MacKay

The first six months of 1986 was a depressing period for most North American stock markets. Prices sagged, demand was sluggish and investors expressed growing concern that the rapid expansion of the U.S. economy would culminate in inflationary stress. Then, late in July, after hitting rock bottom, the market staged a sudden, overwhelming recovery and jolted the investment community out of its seven-month sleep. Early this month widespread expectations of lower interest rates in the United States helped to abet the widely followed Dow Jones Industrial Average of 30 U.S. stocks up 14.4 per cent. Canadian and international markets followed. Late last week there was a renewed swing—following a brief pull-back partly by a drop of half a percentage point in the prime lending rate charged by the five major Canadian banks to 13 per cent. Said Eric Miller, chief investment officer at the New York-based brokerage firm Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette: "The correction is still dusty and strongly upward."

The renewed upswing took place while the investment community was

reeling from the previous week's record-shattering run. Said Robert Dornan, portfolio manager at the Toronto-based investment firm Nesbitt Thomson Borgard Inc.: "No one has ever seen that kind of rally before." Indeed, the Dow Jones Industrial Average set a closure record by shooting up 81.40 points to a volume of 284 million shares in the week of July 30 to Aug. 3. Following the

reading from the previous week's record-shattering run, said Robert Dornan, portfolio manager at the Toronto-based investment firm Nesbitt Thomson Borgard Inc.: "No one has ever seen that kind of rally before." Indeed, the Dow Jones Industrial Average set a closure record by shooting up 81.40 points to a volume of 284 million shares in the week of July 30 to Aug. 3. Following the

For the hard-pressed brokerage industry, the turnaround was a welcome development. Early this year the market plummeted by 20 per cent to a low of 2019.69 points in July from a high of 2585.72 points in January. Said David McLeish, executive vice-president of Toronto-based Walley Stodhill Cockburn Murray Ltd.: "At the start of the year, everybody was afraid and no one thought it would ever stop. Then it stopped, almost the next day." The major stumbling block was the unexpected vigor of the U.S. economy, which rose at a startling rate of 30.1 per cent in the first quarter and 7.5 per cent in the second quarter of the year. The rapid pace of growth drove up interest rates because of an increase in demand for credit and a desire to take out loans before inflation again took root.

But indications that the recovery might be slowing swiftly sent the markets soaring again. Recently, Washington announced that unemployment rose in July while factory orders, construction spending and the index of leading economic indicators declined. Those developments cast doubt on concerns about inflation. As well, Senator George H. W. Bush said a Senate banking committee that the Fed had

decided not to tighten its monetary policy, signaling that short-term rates had peaked, at least temporarily. The result: long-term rates paid on bonds fell significantly, generating expectations that short-term interest rates such as the prime would follow suit.

The theory of positive developments and innovations leads to a buying panic which caught even the most bullish investment firms off guard. Stockbrokers postponed their vanities, and firms hired extra trading staff to accommodate the sudden surge in volume. "It's very tricky. It's like all kinds of reason," said Bradley Eppel, chief of trading at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, during the height of the stampede on Aug. 3. The major buyers were large institu-

tional investors, such as pension funds, which had accumulated large cash reserves in readiness for a shift in the economic climate. And as the market toiled, market participation increased, some analysts saw similarities with the dramatic rally that erupted in August, 1982, and continued for five months.

Money managers who failed to participate in the initial stages of that upswing were anxious not to miss out on a potential repeat performance, particularly after many had scored poorly in the market so far this year. Small investors, by contrast, have been more reticent to commit themselves. As Mariano Varadi, a retail stockbroker at National Thomas Beauford, noted, "Business has been brisk, but the phones are not ringing off the hook. This little guy is more inclined to do nothing and wait to see how the trend develops."

From stagnation to boom-bust: the market was definitely where the market had headed, ranging throughout the week. Even the most pessimistic experts agreed that the solid and sustained demonstration over the previous two weeks was too powerful to last overnight. But they disagreed over how long it could last. At the same time, the most positive observers contended that the rally might continue into 1985. Said Donald Dryden, chairman of Montreal-based Mutual Placements Canada Inc.: "There is little doubt in my mind we are entering a new era for stock prices in North America." Others predict that the rally will fizzle in weeks.

The debate over the rally has also highlighted the sharply diverging current views about the general course of the economy. Wall Street investors, including Dornan, subscribe to the so-called soft-leading theory. According to that view, interest rates will gradually fall and enable the economy to slow down to a rate of sustainable growth in

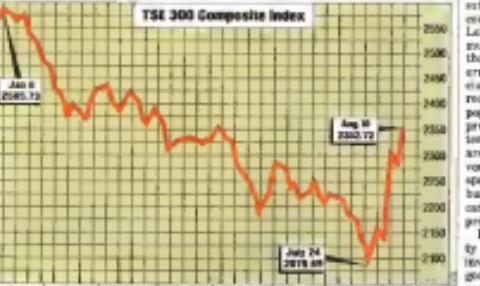
1985 without a sudden crash. But other analysts argue that the falling rates are the last gasp of an economy that is heading into a deep recession. Rick Sales, director of research at Vancouver-based CIBC Royal Trust Co., predicted that the rally will continue until just after the U.S. election in November and then tumble. Said Sales: "People are looking to lower interest rates to fuel the second leg of the bull market. But the only way interest rates will come down is with a recession."

Still, the direction of interest rates will determine the course of the market in the coming weeks. Said William LeFever, a market strategist with the New York investment firm PaineWebber Graham and Co.: "The next couple of weeks will be critical. With the market in short-term decline, the rally is uncertain." Last week's drop in the trust-setting Bank of Canada rate of 12.65 to 12.45 per cent made possible by a strengthening of the dollar, was the first break in a pattern of five consecutive increases which began in March. The central bank's action led the four major chartered banks to raise their prime rate—what they charge their biggest and best customers—to 13.15 per cent from 13.2 per cent.

So far, U.S. short-term rates have remained firm despite declines in long-term rates which have fallen in response to diminished fears about inflation. Low commodity prices and moderate wage settlements have kept inflation below four per cent in the United States. Some observers believe short-term rates will drop for the same reasons. Other analysts contend that the economy is still robust, and sustained heavy demand for funds on the part of business and government could push rates as high as 15 per cent next year.

The outcome of the U.S. elections in November is another influence on interest rates. In general, investors are leaning as a Republican victory. As LeFever put it: "I think there has been greater stock market support for [Ronald] Reagan than [for] [Democratic candidate Walter] Mondale. Generally, the Democrats are considered by large investors to favor higher taxes and more government spending, especially—especially military spending ... to reduce the record \$180-billion deficit has been less popular on Wall Street, he will probably prefer to Democratic candidate Walter Mondale. Generally, the Democrats are considered by large investors to favor higher taxes and more government spending, leading to a less hospitable business climate. At the same time, a continued run-up in the market would probably enhance Reagan's chances."

Despite the confusion and uncertainty over the market's direction, many investors are enjoying their return to good fortune. Said broker Miller: "After such a difficult year, they are banking in the enjoyment of it all."



The mail might get through

When Canada Post president Michael Warren and United States Postmaster General William Roiger met in Toronto last week, the ostensible purpose was to announce improved services and cooperation between the two countries. But there were other issues on their agenda as well. Warren is particularly interested in the methods used by the U.S. postal system to increase productivity and record a profit since it became a government corporation in 1971. That is the same goal that Warren set—but has not

by union fears that Canada Post wants to emulate the U.S. strategy of keeping wages and benefits low and cutting staff drastically. Indeed, a background paper to Canada Post's proposed plan offers a U.S. Postal Service's estimate of 80,000 jobs to be eliminated. Warren commented: "Canada Post can achieve similar goals provided that our unions share the same degree of co-operation."

But there was little indication in the current contract talks that a co-operative spirit is likely to prevail. Canada Post demanded that its 33,000 union

to defy U.S. law and strike or call in an arbitrator is another attempt to settle the similarities between the two operations do not extend far beyond their shared labor problems. The U.S. service was able to cut staff partly because it has made huge investments in automated sorting equipment since 1971. The automated equipment will enable it to handle 20 million more pieces of mail than last year, compared to 1970. As well, the U.S. implemented a 90-day arbitration clause guaranteeing that no strikes would be called during the three days of co-operation.

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workers give up some cost-of-living increases and savings for life insurance. The proposal was rebuffed and met by the U.S. postal manager. Said Roiger: "Canada Post is travelling down the same road the U.S. Postal Service took when it was reorganized over 12 years ago. Warren and Canada Post have done great strides toward these goals."

But Warren's campaign to turn Canada Post's \$300-million deficit into a profit by 1986 faces many of the same obstacles that confront the United States Postal Service (USPS). At the same time that Roiger and Warren were outlining reforms which they contend will cut delivery times between the two countries from an average length of seven days to three, labor problems were developing at both operations. Bargaining for a new two-year contract of Canada Post was the first negotiating session held outside of the federal government's 3½-and-five-per-cent wage guideline. Not only that, but the wage was soaring

union fees that Canada Post wants to emulate the U.S. strategy of keeping wages and benefits low and cutting staff drastically. Indeed, a background paper to Canada Post's proposed plan offers a U.S. Postal Service's estimate of 80,000 jobs to be eliminated. Warren commented: "Canada Post can achieve similar goals provided that our unions share the same degree of co-operation."

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For his part, Warren admits that even after almost three years, Canada Post still is a long way from realising his objectives. He also acknowledges that there is a good deal of public skepticism that the post office will ever become efficient and profitable. Still, says Warren: "We're telling Canadians we will put up with that skepticism and hope we can convert you, not with a lot of political relations, but with solid service and good value."

ROBERT BLOCK, with Lewine Glynn in New York and Patricia Best.



Roiger and Warren, both postal servants, may soon face costly walkouts

The rich scandal at Rolls-Royce

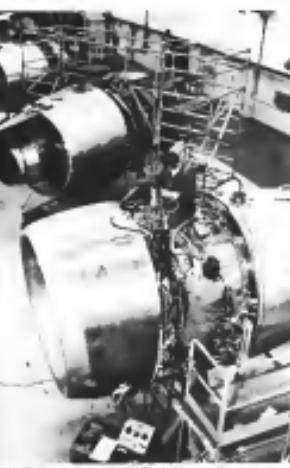
For the Conservative government of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, last week's events surrounding state-owned corporations were both encouraging and startling.

For one thing, investors seemed to buy shares in Jaguar Cars, a former ward of the state-owned B.R.C. The easily over-subscribed stock offering net only plunged about \$800 million into the treasury, but it was another step toward achieving Thatcher's goal of dismantling the state's range of government-owned firms. But tempering the euphoria over Jaguar's privatization was the recent appearance of four men—including two top-ranking executives—on charges resulting from a series of thefts and frauds worth more than \$6 million from another state holding, Rolls-Royce Ltd. Last week's charges involved only the aircraft and naval engine manufacturer, but Jaguar itself may eventually be implicated.

The theft of warships and other engine components from the Rolls factory at Angus—a suburb of the industrial city of Coventry—had strategic as well as financial overtones. (The luxury car builder Rolls-Royce Motors Ltd., which was sold to private owners when the parent firm collapsed in 1975, is not involved in the scandal.) Police claimed to have evidence that will prove that the four conspirators—one of whom committed suicide after the scandal began to unfold—were shipping their contraband parts to Iran and even Argentina, Britain's foes during the recent Falklands War.

The investigation into the thefts and frauds began only a year ago, although police believe that the corruption dates back to at least seven years. It surfaced after a senior Rolls-Royce executive became concerned about irregularities in his department's books and called in the police. At first, members of the special squad of detectives formed to investigate the matter were convinced that they were dealing only with overbillings by suppliers to Rolls-Royce. No charges have yet been laid in connection with those irregularities. Rolls-Royce employees are believed to have defrauded the firm of about \$7 million in exchange for cash payments, gifts and free vacations from dishonest suppliers.

After the fraud investigation began, police suddenly began investigating the thefts. That case exploded last month when police discovered a competitor shopping list of Rolls-Royce naval engine parts written in Spanish and apparently drafted by the Argentine navy. Then the authorities found three caches of stolen parts worth about \$1.35



Rolls-Royce Angus plant: Thieves stole an uncounted

billion in scattered locations throughout England. Some of the goods recovered were apparently bound for Argentina, a nation whose navy, like Iran's, has war vessels fitted with Rolls-Royce engines but is prevented by a British trade embargo from acquiring parts.

The fraud was exposed last week with the theft of about \$150,000 from Rolls-Royce's estimated \$1 billion in thefts until their trial in October—many

now to be paid by others.

Jaguar Cars confirmed that it, too, had suffered in police to deal with similar problems. And two other B.R.C. subsidiaries, Austin Rover and Land Rover, have been warned by police of possible corruption in dealings with subcontractors. Six people from those firms are currently under police investigation.

Jaguar spokesman insisted that the problem at their firm is only minor corruption, but they have emerged as especially bright

period in the auto-aging automobile firm's history. Jaguar's chief executive officer, John Egan, has managed to stage a remarkable turnaround at the company, and the reasons for the rock to take up the Jaguar share offering. When Egan arrived at Jaguar, the luxury sports car builder was facing fewer customers for its increasingly shoddy autos. At the same time, losses continued to rise, hitting \$130 million between 1980 and 1981.

Egan's prescription for the firm was simple. He re-established the company in a distinct category—a dramatic change from the previous pattern of management which forced Jaguar into a morale-destroying antithesis with other B.R.C. operations. Strikingly, the 44-year-old executive pressured both his own employees and outside suppliers to improve the quality of their work. The resulting restoration of Jaguar's longest string of reliability past 100,000 miles, especially in the lucrative U.S. market, led to rising sales and losses were turned into a \$10-million profit.

Thatcher was able to deflect opposition party accusations that the rush to buy Jaguar was bad, the selling was literally sold out in a mad scramble that the government sold it at too low a price. Peter Shire, the Labour Party's trade and industry critic, charged that speculators had been enriched at the expense of the British taxpayer. Jaguar, he said, had been let go "for a song." But the developing Rolls affair may prove more difficult to handle. The Argentine connection has already led Labour Party MPs to call for a full government inquiry. And that demand may be hard for Thatcher to resist if the scandal broadens.

—RICHARD DAHL
in London

Photo: AP/Wide World; Getty Images

Jack Gallagher's new visions

By Peter C. Newman

It seems only fair. Since the first firm promise to come out of this election campaign was abandonment of the National Energy Program, it is appropriate that the man who benefited most from its profligacy is launching an attack on Canada's political system.

Despite his uncertain career departure from Ottawa, Jack Gallagher is busy these days. He is becoming a spokesman to build a majority for Indian and Inuit students at York University (to be called University of the North), he is working on a methanol plant at Melville Island to extract gas from the Arctic islands, he is on the board of a small but active oil exploration company, and he remains the largest individual shareholder in the Pan Am real estate development in downtown Calgary.

But Gallagher's main concern is how the federal government should be restructured so that it becomes more representative of the whole country. "The current system," he told me during a recent interview, "is essentially consumer-oriented, so that it encourages short-term demands for political gains. If we continue to suppress the voice of the primary producer, our country will break apart."

Gallagher has a plan to change all that. He wants to reduce the size of the House of Commons by one-third, double the pay of MPs and allow each government a two-year grace period before any votes of no-confidence are counted. Each new majority administration would remain in power for a set four years, but no Prime Minister could serve more than eight years.

Gallagher's main concern is to gain fairer representation for the West and other resource-oriented regions. He has long advocated a separate political party representing those sectors that could hold the balance of power in Parliament. "We could elect all or 40 MPs, and if either the Liberals or Tories get beat with a minority, that's the time you'd say, 'We want three senators on your team—energy, forestry and fisheries, and agriculture.' Then whenever a Prime Minister doesn't do what you guys planned their hands wrong, someone would know they had people behind them and not just constituents."

Since Gallagher admits this is an impossible dream, he advances the alternative of reforming the Senate. He wants half the upper house made up of provincial appointees with the balance elected, eight from each province. The

term of all senators would be limited to six years. "Such a new Senate," he says, "would have to approve all legislation that originated in the Commons but it could not defeat the government."

The problem with Gallagher's political thesis is that now—at the moment it is taking them seriously. Brian Mulroney has yet to acknowledge his errors, and John Turner wrote back that he didn't want to see the government restructured in any way that would slow it down. To which Gallagher replied, "What you really want, John, is to perpetuate the semi-dictatorship that you

wants regulations governing the industry set in place for the term of exploration permits so there can't be any retroactive changes in general rules. He advocates further Canadianizing the industry by forcing foreign investors starting or buying companies to sell 66 per cent of their equity stock over a period of 20 years and making the stock purchase attractive by decreasing capital gains taxes at the rate of 10 per cent per year, so that at the end of a decade the push on oil and gas shares would be two-fold.

Gallagher pushes his environmentalism as far as the conservationist in him allows: subject the elephant-sized pool of oil under the Beaufort Sea. "There's a huge 250 miles wide and 150 miles north-south up there," he says. "So far, Denex has drilled 16 holes and has found oil or gas in nearly every one. This summer I'm positive we're going to hit one or two big ones. They drilled 200 holes in the North Sea before they found any oil—now they've got 600 and they're still finding more."

Trying to measure Gallagher's coat these days to judge what effect, if any, his political influence may have is difficult because he himself has created his own version of reality. Done's brash confidence in his leadership has hardly dented his self-confidence. He blames it on accidents of timing and dimension his critics as heroes along the glory road of Canadian energy and self-sufficiency.

"I stayed too long at Done," he admits. "Three or four years ago I told them I wanted to step aside because I wanted to do some of the political things I'm talking about now, but the members of the Done board who had been with me since the inception 30 years ago said, 'No, no, no, you go, you go.' I stayed but I know I'm not suited to be running a big company—that's why I left Standard Oil to start Done in the first place. I love to build something and I love hands-on operations."

The Done that Gallagher helped to create indeed did remain engaged in his heart. Oddly, it is precisely because he is a visionary willing to gamble on his own dreams that his political campaign can not be written off. Done's stock has been in a free-fall market, dropping to \$3.50 from its 1987 high of more than \$25. One shareholder who has been engaged with its stock all the way down is Gallagher. He now has more than five million shares. "Even at today's levels," he smiles with that Cheshire gleam that once moved millions, "I'm not exactly hurting."



Gallagher: Done is engraved in His Heart



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Everybody was a somebody once, which is why Murray McLachlan, Bruce Cockburn and Carole Pope were among the grateful attendees who gathered in Toronto last week to honor star maker **Bennie Pinkstein**, the podgy entrepreneur who stage-managed their success. McLachlan recalled how he had "kicked around" the Yorkville folk club circuit with Pinkstein in the late 1960s when the booking manager "carried his desk in his jeans and used the back porch of a local pub." Once, Pope said she was just a grannie then, and thanked Pinkstein for having "the balls to hire us" (from group Rough Trade). For his part, Pinkstein, whose clients held 25 gold and platinum records, started mumbling his way through a thank-you speech by rambling: "Now we find out why I'm behind the scenes, and not up front."

After eight months of carving with two sculpture apprentices—his brother, Reg, and Chuck Hall—BC Native artist Robert Davidson, 37, last

cheered on something to offer the world



Much like king Michael Bloomberg, millionaire owner of the 64-acres manmade party the raspberry and awarded the Liberals and New Democrats are basically earth-and-spirit, respectively. It was all for a six-week poll in which Bloomberg's customers will "vote" by estimating their political preference. Flavors change weekly and week, customers can vote Liberal by buying marmalade. They with marmalade folded and ate with strawberry shortcake "it's very sensible," ranted Bloomberg. "The flavors were pulled from a hat to make sure it was a random sample." Two-month poll readings, but not results—paraded them, of most or those polled, 37 percent of 300,000 customers ate Liberal, 35 per cent Conservative and 31 per cent NDP. But Bloomberg did not know how many undecideds went to Tim Horton's instead.

Laurie's renewed reverence for English with *Julius Caesar*



In the screen versions of *Madame Bovary*'s *Jeanne Blex and Nana*, multi-talented actress **Gabrielle Lerner**, 25, will play Jeanne's wife, Pauline—a demanding role in which she ages from 28 to 45. Set the Paris-based Lerner, who is the daughter of Quebec cabinet minister **Denis Lassonde** and has 22 French films to her credit, faces an even greater problem: acting her first role in English. "I prefer it," she said. "It is more expressive and more interactive—but like a seasoned politesse mindful of her father's often-controversial position, she hastily added, 'French has more life and rhythm.'"

British bookmakers gave 30-to-1 odds on twice. **Princess Diana** has said he would like "a daughter to look after me, my old age." And Diana, Princess of Wales, said that she, too, would prefer a girl. "But I am not really bothered." The royal results are expected to be posted next month. Meanwhile, Lady Di has her hands full with **Prince William**, who has become a "terrible two." At a recent surfing, while her son stayed home, she acquired a handful of turban and argued that William "would have had that ever by now." She also revealed that he likes to tear flowers apart. While the princess continued to learn the sweet joys of motherhood, last week Charles was 5,000 miles away from the nursery, in Pagan, New Guinea on an official visit to open the nation's new parliament house.

—KAREN DE BERRY/LADENBERG

Diana, Charles trouble in paradise



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Splitting at the seams

By Brian D. Johnson

Smothering under a permanent haze of smog and ringed with slums, Mexico City is a graphic example of an overcrowded metropolis starting to split at the seams. Breathing in fetal air for a day is equivalent to smoking two packs of cigarettes, according to environmental experts. At the tiny camp thousands of people live out a living by sifting through mountains of rubbish for salvagable items. They even have an unusual "survivor's" sense to guard their retting turf. But each day the city

tion cannot have changed demographically as the one staged its first world conference on the issue 20 years ago in Bucharest. Then, the socialist countries vehemently argued that international family planning programs were part of a capitalist plot to subdue the Third World. In their place the Eastern Bloc promoted economic development as the only solution for overcrowded, poverty-stricken countries.

But these attitudes have changed, and by last week almost all the delegates shared a consensus that both family planning and economic development are

still needed. The 1,200 delegates at the Bucharest conference saw the rate of the world's population growth has dropped to 1.7 per cent from two per cent. But the figure is deceiving, partly because much of the decrease has occurred in China, where draconian birth-control measures have driven the population down slightly from one billion in 1975. As well, while the overall rate of increase has dropped, the annual growth of population is still alarming. The World Bank predicted that the world's current population of 4.7 billion will rise to six billion by the year 2000 and to 8.8 billion by 2025. Even if those forecasts are inaccurate, the problem is no longer a simple numbers game; it has become increasingly linked to the crisis of embedded urban development.

In the 1960s only six urban centres—New York, Paris, London, Tokyo, Buenos Aires and Shanghai—had more than five million inhabitants. Now there are 36 such cities, the majority of them in the developing world—migrants swollen by influx of unemployed, underfed peasants from rural regions. Lacking the resources to cope with uncontrolled growth, these agglomerations have been virtually overwhelmed by social problems: sprawling shacks, congested traffic, choking pollution, inadequate sewage systems, water shortages, overcrowded schools and overburdened



Slums on the outskirts of Mexico City: reaches capacities overwhelmed by social problems

garbage, that never even makes it to the dump because the economy is not equipped to collect it. With a population of 27 million, projected to rise to 38 million by the turn of the century, Mexico City this year is overtaking Tokyo as the largest urban centre on the planet. And with it was an appropriate setting for the delegations from 140 nations who assembled there last week for a United Nations international conference on population.

Although the 1,200 delegates gathered to consider the issue of an over-crowded world, their discussions were virtually overshadowed by a ritual round of handshakes, parting from the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The politics of popula-

tion control to populations control. Still, the United States—sounding an echo of the economic determinism that the Soviets promoted at Bucharest a decade ago—insisted that free-market capitalism is the best form of population control. And while most countries, including Canada, presented a strong, non-negotiable approach to the Washington agenda, many delegations by preparing to act out family planning programs that finance abortion.

Despite the tone of its statements, the United States is pressuring 44 per cent of the world's family planning financing—this year its contributions stand at a record high of \$340 million—and the Reagan administration plans to raise it again next year. For its part, Canada

is essential to population control. Still, the developing world—migrants swollen by influx of unemployed, underfed peasants from rural regions, lacking the resources to cope with uncontrolled growth, these agglomerations have been virtually overwhelmed by social problems: sprawling shacks, congested traffic, choking pollution, inadequate sewage systems, water shortages, overcrowded schools and overburdened

garbage, that never even makes it to the dump because the economy is not equipped to collect it. During every day of the delegations roughly 1,000 more peasants stream from the countryside into Mexico City's slums to start a new life with no future.

weight of its population. Built on a dried-up lake bed, the city pumps one billion gallons of water a day from natural wells, and depletion of the aquifer has caused parts of the city to sink in some places by as much as 30 feet. Indeed, the visual impact of the leaching capital—which Mexico's prime minister, Carlos Flores, has called “the city forever spreading like a creeping blot”—had a jarring impact on many conference delegates. Said Edward Senator Larion Marsden, head of the Canadian delegation: “I am in a state of shock over what is happening in that city. It was a very entrepreneurial act by the Mexican government to create us there.”

Marsden said that ultimately the conference's main impact will not appear in its programs but in the actions of member states after the delegates report to their individual governments. Most delegations included a high-ranking ministerial official, who explained, and Canadian officials did, that they had come to Bucharest not as an election committee but as an election committee, who had not been elected yet. The Canadian delegation, which included officials from a cross-section of government departments and two non-government members, played a “model” but crucial role in the conference, and Marsden argued strongly that “status-of-women issues can be linked together with fertility and family issues” and supported moves to environmental conservation and health care to population problems.

Although government delegations including Marsden were reluctant to criticize the controversial U.S. stance, representatives of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) in the Canadian delegation were more outspoken. Marilyn Wilson, an observer from the Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada (PPFC), interpreted the position on abortion as “possibly a lot of posturing to the right-to-life movement in the States. I do not think that would have happened if those had not been elections coming up.”

Any major US conference serves as a world stage for a bizarre combination of diplomatic and political posturing, and the week-long population meeting was no exception. Said Daniel Sada, a UN population specialist who served as the conference's vice-chair-general, “We expect controversy.” Still, as the 1,200 delegates watched by 300 journalists, scores of the best of political goliaths, including the Chinese, came early this week, the city area of whom was a living reminder of the emergency of the problem, at hand. During every day of the delegations roughly 1,000 more peasants stream from the countryside into Mexico City's slums to start a new life with no future.

WWF New Zealand in Mexico City

MEDIA WATCH

A commitment to sports over news

By George Bain

The ABC television network in the United States earned 180 hours of the Los Angeles Olympics, making the Games, in the words of a network spokesman, “the largest single TV event we have ever done.” That was the largest event of any kind, even sports, obsequies of presidents, congressional hearings, mass lynchings, anything. Still, considering that the Olympics were in a city owned by the network and the anticipation of the meet by *The Journal*, to score Canada “These are almost twice as many Canadian events and telecasts as the 10 p.m. at 11 p.m.,” said one press release of December, 1981. Starting from 11 to 10, then, was an act of high responsibility. So, came the first national election since, and where was *The National*? Cleared out of the spot set aside for it to make way for the hammer three and other events of super-national importance. What was done was that *The National* and *The Journal* were snuffed—out of prime time—so 11 to 10 Ontario, mid-night in the Maritimes and 12:30 a.m. in Newfoundland. By 11 to 10, the audience is normally down to one-quarter of what it was at 10 o'clock.)

To this, Denis Harvey, vice-president for English-language TV, replied, basically, ah, but think of the lucky West: it got its news in even prime time—time that was. That was to make a virtue of necessity, if it was the effect it was never the intention, and, in the snap, news time was sacrificed. For example, *At Noon*—the one-hour early-morning news show was dropped and, as compensation, five minutes of regional and local news were tacked on at the end of *The National-Journal*, now squeezed into 8 to 8:30 a.m.

The basic *CBC* design, laid down long ago and confirmed even after the election was called, was to give the Olympics the prime evening broadcast. To have broken for news at 10, Harvey said in a phone interview from Los Angeles, would have meant running some events late, which the thought the thought would have meant raising their delayed. In any event, as the last, the Olympics spanned off too early in the course of the games and there would be room for a couple of repeats in the time remaining. It made a remarkably explicit statement of the *CBC*'s values.



campaign represents a failure of both judgment and responsibility on the part of a publicly owned network that exists to see that the setting of standards is not just things as news coverage is not left wholly in the hands of profit-driven private broadcasters.

It was in bluster of self-congratulatory press releases that the *CBC* in January, 1982, named *The National* from its traditional 11 o'clock slot to 10 o'clock and swapped it with *The Journal*. The express purpose was to bring the news and the anticipation of the meet by *The Journal*, to score Canada “These are almost twice as many Canadian events and telecasts as the 10 p.m. at 11 p.m.,” said one press release of December, 1981. The 10 o'clock slot was a slot of prestige. The 11 o'clock slot, 10 to 11, hours, the English-language service having added four in the last week to ward off shareholders—and to join the French at a solid 200. That equals eight 60-hour days, with eight hours each. And that leaves seven radio, which ran four hours a night with Olympic speeds almost every waking hour in between.

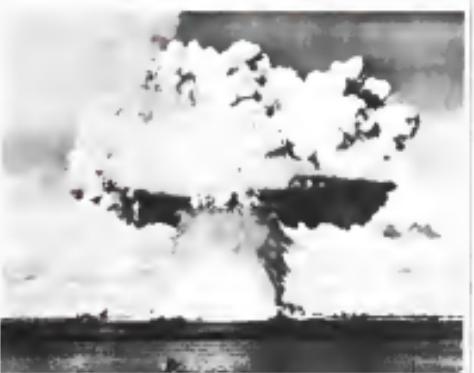
Nor, although *Globe-and-Mail* was criticized for excessive God-bless-Aboriginalism,

would it be easy to demonstrate that and was more cheerful than *ABC-TV*—not with commentaries dissolving in tears at the women's diving results, publicly displaying impartiality in hailing the last by Canada tea Brasiliens in a race by only one goal (by only one goal, by Gershoff or with Brian Williams, the night-time host of that extravagance, mandated by no one readily identifiable, ostensibly offering congratulations “on behalf of all Canadians, everywhere,” whenever the band struck *O Canada*).

Whether this intense preoccupation with the Games, down to the last Greek-Roman grant, represents a triumph of demagogic and political posturing, and the week-long population meeting was no exception. Said Daniel Sada, a UN population specialist who served as the conference's vice-chair-general, “We expect controversy.” Still, as the 1,200 delegates watched by 300 journalists, scores of the best of political goliaths,

including the Chinese, came early this week, the city area of whom was a living reminder of the emergency of the problem, at hand. During every day of the delegations roughly 1,000 more peasants stream from the countryside into Mexico City's slums to start a new life with no future.

A closer look at the bomb



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In a worldwide arms debate already fuelled by profound emotion and fear, the introduction of a new and chilling concept has given the discussions an added air of urgency. Eight months ago a group of five U.S. scientists theorized that in any war the simultaneous detonation of even one per cent of the world's nuclear arsenal would pump so much dust and soot into the upper atmosphere that the planet would enter a dark and bitterly cold "nuclear winter." Crops and vegetation would immediately, and in time all human life could conceivably perish. Since then, respect for the theory has been growing within an initially sceptical scientific community. Now the U.S. government has decided to make the concept of nuclear winter the subject of a five-year, \$25-million series of studies. For the theory's original proponents, the government's agreement was a sign that the Reagan administration is treating the threat of nuclear destruction more seriously. Said NASA atmospheric scientist Dr. Thomas Ackerman, one of the five: "If you listened to our current administration a couple of years ago, they were talking about a survivable nuclear war. These are the kinds of people you have to reach."

According to the TORN theory, named after the initials of its five authors, nuclear winter would occur when intense updrafts following a series of nu-

nuclear explosions leave little dust, along with smoke and heat from, resulting five minutes, as high as the stratosphere. Calculating above the decaying action of rainfall, the researchers would reduce the amount of sunlight reaching the planet's surface in a small fraction of the normal sunspot cycle. Many Canadian climatologists and scientists have concluded that such a development would have particularly catastrophic results in southern latitudes. Winnipeg cardiologist Ian Carr, head of the 2,000-member Physicians for Social Responsibility (Canada), said that even in the most severe magnitudes, "I can't imagine it may be added—the effects on Canada would be severe. We calculated that a nuclear war taking place in winter would reduce the temperatures in Winnipeg and Toronto to -70°C for months on end. And given an extremely localized war in spring or summer, which reduced temperatures by only a few degrees would cause the Prairies wheat crop to fail," said Carr.

Two years ago Thomas [redacted] ... David Lee [redacted]

Jones, US deputy undersecretary of defense, marvelled many environmental scientists when he predicted that the United States would have an 80-percent survival rate and a rapid return to life as usual after a nuclear war. But now the president's science adviser, Dr George E. Kistiakowski, has asked the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to draw up a masterplan to co-ordinate investigations by more than a dozen US Federal agencies into the aftermath.

In Alan Hocke, who heads a panel conducting the program, he does not know whether the exercise will confirm the give-and-take scenario. Observed Hocke, "We have a hypothesis, but it is based on a lot of assumptions." The U.S. researchers hope to be able to monitor controlled forest fires set by the Canadian Forestry Service, but they will conduct many of their studies as complex computer models of the atmosphere. Meanwhile, many climatologists are already convinced of the validity of the nuclear winter scenario. Indeed, the University of British Columbia's Doug Scott, for one, sees declines to reflect it as merely a theory. Said Scott, "We have as much confidence in the conclusions of these studies as we do of any studies on the atmosphere."

The nuclear winter scenario is particularly troublesome for agencies such as Emergency Planning Canada (EPC), which has the responsibility of improving the conditions of the survivors of nuclear war. But if the aftermath of nuclear war is as horrendous as the scenario suggests it may be, it could be, and Williams, head of the agency, thinks there would be no survivors. But Seager added that even astrophysicist Carl Sagan, the most prominent NASA scientist, has acknowledged that not preparing for the aftermath of nuclear war would be foolhardy. For now, the EPC is awaiting the conclusion of an independent study of the nuclear winter theory which the Royal Society of Canada is launching with a two-day conference in Ottawa next week. Bill Canadian, director of atmospheric science at the University of Alberta, will probably be focused on the U.S. studies and on attitudes among Washington decision-makers. Observed

genocides," observed Carr. "I can only hope that they accept the logical lesson that jumps out of the scenario, which is that a nuclear first strike is unthinkable under any circumstances."

—Dawn Lees

The dawn of tidal power

By Michael Christian

The tides in Nova Scotia's Bay of Fundy rise and fall as much as 54 feet twice a day, and the promise

of turning the massive movement of water into electrical power has

and the natural power of hydroelectric engineers for a century. In the past decade available world energy supplies—and more efficient turbines—have turned dreams of harnessing the tides' strength into active planning. As a result, on Aug. 25, Nova Scotia Premier John Bookman will fly a seaplane to Amherst, N.S., to start a test project that, if successful, would be a key step toward the construction of a massive

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ndy, could have a 4,000- to 4,800-megawatt capacity—20 times the power of French plant and twice the annual energy consumption of Nova Scotia.

The plan calls for a march day.

The plan called for a massive dam across the Bay of Fundy. This would block off an inlet named Cobequid Bay. Twice a day, at high tide, tidal waters surge into the bay. At low water, sea water would flow through open gates in the dam. Then at the high point of the tide the gates would close trapping the water. As the tide recedes, trapped water would rush back to the Bay of Fundy through the turbines, generating power.

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old turn the turbine blades which old generate electricity.

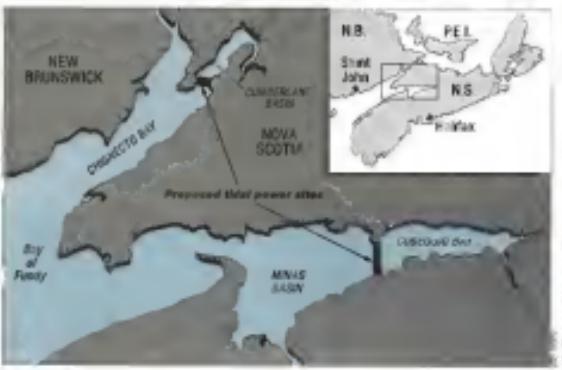
What really is involved in design here is to pick the best elements from existing technology." The corporation is in the midst of a \$300-million feasibility study that will be finished by the end of 1988. If the report is positive, Baker said that the corporation will undertake a precommercial program. "That will take up to three years at a cost of up to \$180 million to examine the problems of financing the project, marketing and transmitting the electricity, and conducting a socio-economic and environmental impact study of the effects. Tidal Power Corp. officially acknowledge, however, that much of the financing must come from a consortium, several of which have already shown interest in principle.

As the project moves closer to reality, some environmentalists in the United States have begun to express concern.

about the effects of interfering with the movement of the tides. The New York Times recently reported that Canadian studies, which the Fandy Tidal Power Review Board prepared in 1971, showed that the proposed dam would increase the range of tides from Tum-Tum, N.B., to Cape Cod, Mass., raising high tides by six inches and lowering low tides by the same amount. According to the first detailed U.S. study of the project, published last April and prepared by research scientist Peter Larson of the Bigelow Laboratory for Ocean Sciences in West Boothbay Harbor, Me., the tidal changes could result in acres of flooded marshes, faster erosion,

water along the New England coast. Larsen also said that increased tidal exchange might also increase nutrients in the Gulf of Maine and result in increased growth of fish resources. "The papers have put this in a negative light," Larsen told Marinko's last week. But we are not artificial power. We have just highlighted areas of concern and speculations that need further study before we can make any judgments."

Supporters of the tidal power plan know that the vast scale of the project will mean that it will face many financial and regulatory obstacles. But they remain confident. Said Baker: "There will be problems, but it will go ahead. The oil era will end, and any large expansion source of renewable, unpredictable energy is just going to look less attractive to be passed over."



Canadian tidal power project. It could cost more than \$80 billion and take 10 years to build.

The polar project will test the efficiency of a new Canadian-built turbine, more than 100 of which would form the heart of a commercial development that would only be the second of its kind. But the massive scale of the project has already led environmentalists to express concerns about the ecological damage that could result from the completion of the world's most ambitious attempt to harness the tides.

The French were the first to territorial forces into substantial amounts of electricity in 1966, and their country has what is still the world's largest tidal plant near the mouth of the Rance River at La Rance, near Cherbourg. But the proposed Nova Scotia site, at Minas Basin in the eastern end of the Bay of

The fur industry under siege

By Gordon Legge

When anti-seal activists Europe decided to fight Canada's annual seal harvest by organizing a European Community boycott on baby seal pelts in September, 1985, the economic effect on Inuit communities in Labrador and other areas of the Canadian North was devastating. New York City grocery stores across Canada's northern 45,000 Indians and Métis trappers in the territories and northern parts of the provinces, who were largely unaffected by the seal boycott, that animal rights groups are about to launch a broader campaign against the commercial harvesting of all animals. As a result, roughly 300 natives from across Canada, along with representatives from Alaska and Greenland, met at Yellowknife last week to plan a counterattack. As Thomas Coon, a Cree delegate from Mistissini in northern Quebec, told delegates: "We saw how they crippled the sealing industry. We are now the next target."

Few observers in northern Canada

anticipated the drastic impact of the European boycott. In Resolute (pop. 170) the high Arctic town issuing from the sale of fur pelts in 1983 was 41,800, down dramatically from 85,800 a year earlier. In Igloolik (pop. 560) in the Eastern Arctic community income dropped to \$6,000 from \$46,700 the previous year. These were similar declines in

After a damaging European seal pelt boycott, native trappers have formed a pro-fur lobby to counterattack

most communities across the North. And Rupert Trading, the Northwest Territories' supervisor of resource development, who has worked in the North since 1946: "It really hurts me to see guys who were once proud hunters beat down to the ground because of what has happened."

The antisealing movement primarily affected most of Canada's 38,000 Inuit, but a broader antitrapping campaign would affect many natives in the northern parts of Canada. Native leaders point to recent congressional hearings in Washington as evidence that their long-term livelihood may be at risk. Similar to last year, the U.S. House of Representatives committee heard evidence in committee on Bill 1179, which would ban steel-jawed leg-hold traps and block the import of furs from foreign countries whose governments allow trappers to use them. Said Shirley Roseau, president of Local One-118 (fur and leather machine operators), who testified against the bill: "Animal rights groups are not interested in a mere humane trap but only in destroying the fur industry completely." Added Stephen Kaldwyl, president of the 6,000-member Dene Nation, the 8,000-member Dease Nation, the N.W.T. Indian group that organized last week's Yellowknife conference: "Aboriginal people are being threatened by outside groups who wish to interfere with our relationship with the land and the animals. What

government and industry have tried to do for many years, these groups in the South could do now—by destroying our ability to care our livelihood from the land, and therefore make us totally dependent on the wage economy and welfare."

But the threat remains a theoretical one. A recent International Fund for Animal Welfare-sponsored boycott of Canadian fish sold in Britain failed, and powerful European and U.S. animal welfare groups say that they have no mandate to widen the seal pelt boycott to other types of fur. Still, Indigenous Mergens, Indigenous leader of northern Ontario's Ojibway First Nation, said that a broader

movement is

against the killing of animals for fur or profit. He reported the argument that a broader boycott would disrupt traditional native societies. Concerned Mergens: "I think it is like saying that if you shut down Disney and DisneyWorld, what are the conservation experts going to do in order to make a living? Well they

Maria Christine Allen (left), Marie Kopica sewing fur traps

are just going to have to find something else."

To counter the sustained robotics, native groups and the Canadian fur industry have joined forces in a pro-trapping lobby. The Fur Institute of Canada was established last fall. It represents all segments of the industry, including traps, fur, wholesalers and retailers, the federal and provincial governments and wildlife groups. In June representatives of northern natives faced the Aboriginal Trappers Association, and last week native leaders in Yellowknife voted to form a committee to join the Fur Institute in lobbying government and industry and demonstrating entrepreneurial initiatives.

to the public. Still, while the groups hope for the eventual success of these campaigns, the European Community-backed boycott continues and Inuit seal hunters will face another bleak winter.

Wick Atta Nivens in Yellowknife

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Focusing on the Khmer Rouge

By John Hay

THREE years ago, the two national news last week, the pictures from Indo-China resembled scenes from the Vietnam War: boyish-looking guerrillas in green shirts and rubber sandals, running wildly out of the jungle and squatting through rice paddies. But the pic-

ture acknowledged that he had found it difficult to determine if the surprisingly friendly-looking men typified the pro-Vietnam popular front. Back in Peking after his adventure, Lepine declared that his collaboration was "extra strange," in view of the reported situation that the Chinese-backed Communist rebels controlled while their hard-line leader, Pol Pot,

had met the group's representative in Peking in June. Within two weeks Lepine, along with his wife, Claude St. Laurent, Orbie and London-based cameraman Michel Desautel, crossed Thailand's border into Kampuchea, far into Vietnamese territory.

The rebels supplied their guests with standard-issue Chinese Army uniforms, canvas boots to recharge the cameras batteries. Members of the new walked mud up to their knees and slashed through bamboo thickets.

The effort was not only physically exhausting. Mentally, the crew had to face the enormous danger of Vietnamese army raid. At one point they found Vietnamese tanks on a highway several hundred yards away. And Orbie gratefully noted that Kampuchean villagers did not belong to the Vietnamese' preference to the occupying Vietnamese forces even though they would probably have received rewards for their information. The tension was understandable: rebel leaders have come to the Vietnamese army since the Vietnamese army invaded Kampuchea and overthrown the Kampuchean government in 1979. But Lepine's Khmer guides deliberately kept the party away from any fighting. The only real evidence of war was the sound of distant artillery fire.

Indeed, the Khmer Rouge's restrictions on the BBC crew left them wondering more than once whether the journalistic prize would be worth the immense effort that they made to earn it. Lepine said that his guides did not try to censor his stories, which he filed from Bangkok after leaving Kampuchea. But they did refuse to take him into some villages that he had wanted to see. And despite their apparent openness, they held back a good deal of information. Said Lepine:

"They were very secretive." Inevitably, Lepine's report left much unanswered. But the assignment was a tribute to the nerve and endurance of Lepine and his crew, and it served a proper journalistic function: it stimulated as many questions as it answered. ♦



Lepine on TV, walking through mostly ruined and skeletal farms with surviving rebels.

tages were nice and they provided a rare glimpse of a hidden war that most Westerners have forgotten. In telling them, the Paris correspondent of the American magazine Legende, the late Alan Weisman, spent five years to travel with the Khmer Rouge rebels deep into the interior of Vietnam-controlled Kampuchea. Lepine and his crew of three spent 13 days in Kampuchea, dogging assess man-eaten-waiter rivers with the rebels and spending the nights in hambukas under mosquito nets. His TV and radio reports, filed to the BBC's French and English networks, represented a daring journalistic coup and they provided graphic evidence that the once-hated Khmer Rouge are now more popular and rebuilding their strength.

Lepine's telecasts, dispatches—three on the English network, four as the French—showed the Kampuchean villagers to be friendly and relaxed with the rebels. The reports highlighted cooperation between local leaders and the rebels, the distribution of medicine and even a volleyball game, although Lepine

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The drama of a nation

THE SCENIC ART

By Hugh Hood
(Giblent, 224 pages, \$18.95)

For two decades Hugh Hood has undertaken a quixotic search for the Canadian character in philosophical essays, confessions (*Shoreman Signs*), Art of Monologues, short stories and novels; he has nuanced connoisseurs of panoptics, athletes, bureaucrats and philanthropists in his quest. His most ambitious work is *The New Age*, a proposed 12-novel cycle monitoring history, philosophy and fiction, although the simple term "fiction" is too limited; metaphysical doctoress would be more apt.

The *Scenic Art*, the fifth book in Hood's cycle, describes the world of the actor. "Canadians have an instinctive, rooted fear of the dramatic impulse," writes its narrator, Matthew Goderich. Hood attempts to explore that perplexing situation both on the historical level, by depicting the rise of Canadian theatre from the 1930s until 1967, and on the personal level, by detailing the life

of one troubled actor, Adam Bindfuss. But while the novel is conceptually bold, it falls short of its promise.

Adam's career blossoms and ripens in tandem with Canadian theatre's own coming-of-age. The character bears some resemblance to novelist and former actor Timothy Findley, author of *The*

Hood's command of trivia is astonishing. His mind is undeniably well furnished—at times overfurnished

Winnipeg, where Hood once briefly shared an apartment in midtown Winnipeg, and Matt's story parallels much of Hood's life. Both Matt and Adam come from the same residential Toronto neighbourhood, where Matt pretends Adam from the journs of other children. Later the two share a dressing room as actors in a production of *Dieppe* at the

University of Toronto's Hart House.

At first they face a country devoid of permanent professional theatre companies and indigenous playwrights. Little by little, theatre begins to grow. But by the time the two men meet again, in 1967, at the first Stratford Shakespearean Festival, in which Adam has won a big part, it is clear that the actor is as lost as he is brilliant, as he is with talent. In Canada's emerging years there will always be more in Hood's fictional town of Stowerville, site of a regional theatre competition. But when a now-famous Adam, "the star from Stratford," arrives to adjudicate the festival, his speech turns into a drunken diatribe.

Other writers, including novelist Robertson Davies and journalist Martin Kondrak, have chronicled the Canadian theatre scene. But Hood's vision is unique, and his combination of political, artistic, bureaucratic, media and sports trivia is astonishing. He writes several paragraphs on the art of applying linear stage makeup and wigs; in another long discussion he discusses the intricacies of Stowerville's property taxes.

Hood's world is undeniably well furnished. At times it seems overfurnished, making his artistry labored and his protagonist resemble a gaudyhouse whose mother has been reluctant to leave anything out. Adam's story suffers from its own excesses: heavy drinking and flamboyant homosexuality—and the reader quickly tires of his mercurial behavior.

Hood's symbolism, too, seems clumsy. He clearly intends Adam's blitheness to represent all that the author believes Canadians fear in the democratic impulse. Describing the consciousness of Matt's and Adam's wildly differing temperaments is the closest he gets to analyzing how theatre thrives in Canada's multi-class environment. But he obscures his theory of artistry in his own self-satirize: "these reverend images who revere in literature and drama." Such pronouncements make the author sound more like a literary critic connoisseur than a tax: than a writer creating one. Because Hood's tax oscillates wildly between the sentimental and the absurd—like a surface minister musing with Wimberly and fond of backroom plots—he strikes an uneasy relationship with the reader at times. He is a condescending professor, elsewhere a back-slapping pal, but not seldom a simple storyteller.

The result is that *The Scenic Art* is a frustrating top-of-the-road between a weary documentation of the rise of Canadian theatre and a soaring lecture. Hood wants what is gifted man like Adam, magnificence without mortality and be embracing yet essentially democratic. But *The Scenic Art* shows that equality with excessive morality is often neither.

—ELSPETH CAMERON

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Valerie Bertinelli: vulgar mystery

PARTNERS

By Valerie Geng
Harper's Bazaar, 182 pages, \$18.95

Valerie Bertinelli, whose series has enthralled the pages of *The New Yorker* and *The New York Review of Books* regularly since the late 1980s, now appears in a party pack. A little of her sophisticated humor travels well and far, but more Bertinelli travels farther. Unlike many humor anthologies, Geng's first, *Partners*, easily carries a reader from page to page and then back again for seconds. Her strategy is to exercise unlikely elements—the review of the *Washington Post* as if it were just a recent encounter with President Richard Nixon; the advertisement for *The Three Stooges*; *My Fair Lady*; *Barbra Streisand*. But the real subject of Geng's satire is not people but language.

With a dazzling blend of witlessness and intellectual over-sophomorism, Geng demonstrates that English comes in a dozen corrupt dialects. She singles out the any-existing school of the "Grease for Socrates" books: "Every single business... no matter how similar, is different!"—and the erotic social comment of *The New York Times* wedding announcement page: "The parents of the bride, Mr. and Mrs. Morris Blaine Bartolotti of New York, are partners in Caspian Sea Construction, an art gallery and university wear cart."

Equipped with a large pair of scissors and a healthy sense of the skewed, Geng reads everything—instruction pamphlets for appliances, "healthbeaut" books, 18th-century philosophers,

anti-garde film critics and Jimmy Breslin's syndicated, tough-guy column. She cuts, she files and, like a jazz musician who finds the hidden heart of a song, she plays with the theme. At the new heart of a trend, Geng attacks. In *The Mystery That Take Women Serious*, she writes, "In cult-like-awful David Cronenberg's *Scanners*, a shadowy, lonely career woman (Anne Bancroft) has sex with a mutated man (Robert Duvall), becomes pregnant and gives birth to millions of tiny wedge-shaped grotesques that threaten to annihilate the greater Los Angeles area." When the cow is names, she milks for laughs. One of her many hilarious feats of mimicry is *Barbie Goober, Big Star*, in which an insatiable female journalist impersonated of Baby's torte-tempered Orlana Paliadi interviews her father: "Finally he was walking towards me, across the lobby of the Hotel Despototis, in Raouche, God, the man is not good-looking!"

Her jabs range from the barely visible, including a tongue-in-cheek rewrite of a typical *Newsworld* story, "Five best-held families," to the obvious—politicism, including, whenever possible, President Reagan. Political rhetoric is child's play for Geng—a display of language so banefully mangled that *Reporters from New Congress* made ride the muggings of a schlemielly "Anne" seem unemployment. From men to women, such problems are offset by a smariness that is serious but not critical, yet nonetheless stops short of complete earnestness. A reader has only to refresh his memory of the recent John Turner-Brian Mulroney television debates to recognize that political speech is often not so much an act of communication as a verbal game. What it means is not always clear, but how it works. And in the process turns into a puzzle words naturally knowable and modifiable. By making her readers laugh at that appealing state of affairs, Geng makes language happy again.

No craft diversion could be dazing, but Geng redresses that with refreshingly lapses in taste. In *My Miss*, a parody of a monstrous memoir, Chairman Mao's fatuous lover reveals the leader's sensitivity to "certain kinds of pleasure. A few times he was moved to remind me, 'Please, don't squeeze the Chairman!'" She even parodies clichés of slang that hot obscurant colleagues use for sexual acts. One Geng example: "Take a meeting—fly to California for the purpose of engaging in relief." In a book as skittishly written as *Partners*, it is rare to know that Geng can also be acrobatically vulgar when the occasion demands. —MARGIE JACKSON

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The dossier on a dictator

REVOLUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES
The United States in a Hall of Cracked Mirrors

By Fred Poole and Max Vassie
(McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 257 pages,
\$19.95)

The San Juanico suspension bridge linking the Philippines islands of Samar and Leyte was President Ferdinand Marcos's birthday present to his wife, Imelda, in the early 1970s. It was an engineering triumph that presented the world with an image of Filipino progress. But to those who oppose the Marcos regime, the San Juanico is also the name for the so-called "lying on air" torture that the government police inflict on them there. A victim lies between two beds, head on one, heels on the other, trying to keep his body rigid. When the muscles collapse, the policeman's boots, fist and truncheons begin their work.

That and other harrowing stories fill the dossiers of Fred Poole and Max Vassie, an American novelist and journalist respectively, who have lived and worked in the former U.S. colony. Although their *Brookline in the Philippines* is sweepingly written and powerfully organised, it is still important for its timely warning and its investigation.

The authors make no pretence at objectivity. Marcos and his supporters are the villains of the piece, and the opposition forces, democratic or otherwise, are the heroes. The authors say that Marcos, under increasing pressure, is now panicking. In their view, that explains why his state security forces were likely involved in the murder of opposition leader Benigno Aquino on Aug. 21, 1983, as assassinations that focused world attention on the islands. It also explains the increased viciousness of the army's campaign against the guerrilla New People's Army. The situation sounds depressingly like that of South Vietnam 25 years ago.

Poole and Vassie manage to put Marcos and Imelda—"Wieldy"—in her friends—clearly in context. A war here,

Marcos first came to prominence in 1965 when, at 18, he murdered a family political foe and escaped unpunished. The authors trace his增長ing—proof of which, they say, is available on bootleg audio tapes—and they follow Imelda's million-dollar shopping spree. Meanwhile, the collapse of the resource-based economy forces the debt-laden people deeper into poverty. Marcos and his family have grown fabulously wealthy in office, openly owning 45 large corporations and controlling hundreds more through front men. The Philippines, Poole and Vassie argue, has become a giant Marcos conglomerate "with the military responsible for setting their competing interests in motion."

To protect their holdings, the Marcoses have sought the support of the U.S. government. They have also secured President Ronald Reagan's agreement, the authors charge, to use the FBI to harass Marcos's opponents in the United States. One of them is Steve Pramila, a regular columnist for the anti-Marcos *Philippines News*. Pramila told the authors that after FBI agents raided his house in San Francisco, documents sent to Manila led to the arrest of 20 members of the anti-Marcos network.

Poole and Vassie argue that Marcos and his supporters will be vigorously anti-American, and a threat to the important U.S. military and intelligence bases on the islands. In 1966, when the United States exploded the hydrogen bomb in the Spanish-American War, relations were off. President William Howard Taft, the first American civil governor of the Philippines, had wanted to help "our Filipino brothers," and the United States helped him out of Asia in a few democratisations. A show of force for the American way, it resulted in independence until 1978, when Marcos ended free elections.

The Poole and Vassie story is disturbingly familiar—a corrupt regime propped up with graft and U.S. and U.N.-selected, bought-in to a lesser course. The authors obviously hope to make the Philippines a U.S. election issue. With its mounting condemnation of Braga's policies, Brodhead on the Philippines should provide ample ammunition to those who want a new man in the White House.—JL. GEORGE THOMAS

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VOLKSWAGEN



Curtis and Swayze: a sentimental small-town soap opera of property damage without the risk of accidental damage

FILMS

Heavy traffic in teen sex and cars

GRANDVIEW, U.S.A.
Directed by Randal Kleiser

For more than a decade the American Dream had four wheels and a rawhouse admirer. Hollywood has been making movies in which young loves drive to happy endings, leaving behind a trail of wrecks ever since *Grandview, U.S.A.*—about a teenage crash that develops as a demolition derby in a small midwestern town—retired that formula literally. Its director, Randal Kleiser (Grease and *The Blue Lagoon*), tries hard to please everyone with a story that is meant to be a bittersweet comedy. He combines Hollywood's hottest trends—pubescent male lead, endearing female lead, gratuitous use of sex—video—with its most faded sentimental themes. The film opens with a shot of rippling cornfields and closes with a shot of rippling U.S. flags. In between, a druggy title song fits the sentimental music with lines including, "This is the kind of world that's so glad to be in."

The movie certainly is a dream, an innocent dream, named Michelle (Miley Cyrus) Lee (Courtney). She drives a battered blue tow truck and runs a demolition derby track which the local politicians are trying to shut down. Miley wears plaid skirts with denim jackets and stands around exuding a latent, smoky sensuality. Demolition driver Curtis (Sloan) Valentine (Patrick Swayze), owner of a battered red pickup truck, spends his weekdays behind the wheel of a bulldozer. Slim and Mike, who flirted with each other as teenagers, are just good pals as adults because Slim is married but Slim's wife, Candy (Jennifer Jason Leigh), a platinum-blond tramp with a heart of tin, is having an affair. Her lover is a golden-haired working machine salesman, Donny (Troy Donahue), who drives a Camaro and enjoys being led to the bedposts. Candy easily passes on a flimsy excuse and slips off to her Valentine to see Donny on the pretext of visiting the supermarket.

But the real derby gets under way as a big, cuddly 16-year-old, Tim Pearson (C. Thomas Howell), enters the blinds of the rare Uncle Slim and Mike. Tim has no nickname and no car. But he borrows a white Cadillac from his corrupt real estate agent father, only to get it impounded while parking with his pink date. Looking for a tow truck, the pink-plated couple stumbles onto the Grandview demolition and meets Mike, the older version of his dreams. The film makers provide Tim with mock video fantasies that transform the determined Mike into a sleek, smooth-

sleathed-in-leopard-skin-and-chains. These sequences give Howell, a teen idol, the opportunity to wear black leather pants and pose with a guitar and a lip-spaced post. Curtis is a wondering poseman as well but his guitar, but Sloshed remains unconvincing either as a rock star or as an budding man. Their ultimate sex scene is so lacking in steam that the viewer wonders if Tim is afraid that his parents are watching.

Last year *Risky Business* was one of the hits of the summer—a coming-of-age movie for late adolescence made while *Risky Business* was consistently sexy, funny and irreverent. *Grandview* fails by trying to teach all those hands and still remain basically wholesome. But a summer youth like us is far forgotten when its teenage hero's father turns out to be the only character who really comes of age.

Two of the film's three stars, Curtis and Swayze, give strong performances. But their hired in strange in the wrong script. In Grandview, we can't get Hart, though he's a nice guy. There is no emotional damage, only property damage. Although the demolition derby by necessity is the central symbol for passion and conflict, in a film as交通安全, *Grandview, U.S.A.* is a middling ride of hideous bumper cars. It would have been more appropriate. —BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Shadows on a sunny comedy

THE GODS MUST BE CRAZY
Directed by Janusz Górecki

Most internationally known South African artists stand at grave odds with their country's segregationist racial policies. But film-censor Dennis Oya is avowedly apolitical, claims to be "a simple man, a simple man." He wants to do objective art. *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, a Marais film of lost innocence set in the beautiful desert regions of southern Africa. As the film opens, a discarded Coke bottle falls from an airplane axis as an isolated tribe of bushmen who believe it to be a gift from the gods. But their happiness is short-lived. When they begin quarreling over the windfall, their leader, Xa (played by a real Bushman called Mokhat), decides to carry the bottle "to the edge of the gods" and return it to the gods.

If that is what Oya is suggesting, that the affluence of his white countrymen to the Black majority amount to little more than empty pop bottles. But he also backs away from that controversial notion to concentrate on the film's other subjects, including the ravages of a clever gang of black revolutionaries and the tribulations of Andrew Stagg (Martin Weyers), a white technician working in the desert. Oya eventually binds these stories together, but he concentrates mainly on Andrew, who falls in love with an attractive white schoolteacher, Kate Thompson (Sandie Pienaar). Competent enough under ordinary circumstances, Andrew immediately starts dropping things whenever Kate looks at him.

Weyers has established an style on the most unlikely of material—middle-aged stars. Oya overcomes a spate of technical to give Weyers' antics a leftist movie flavor—but he manages to knock *Primalia* down on a dozen different occasions. And Andrew's scrambling attempts to master a broken-down Land Rover, dubbed the Antikrist, result in some of the funniest clattering in recent movie history.

Still, its sunny brightness does not free *Gods* from a political shadow. Oya shows South Africa's blacks living prosperously in the countryside. The only exceptions are the lawlessly incipient black revolutionaries who can neither drive the road straight. On the surface the subplots is all in fun, but the underlying message is clear: good blacks stuck to their rural roots. *The Gods Must Be Crazy* is a very funny film, but it is far from innocent. —JAMES ROBINSON



Swayze, Thomas Howell, *Sheen*: the forces of evil vs. a band of patriots

A last stand for democracy

RED DAWN
Directed by John Milius

Red Dawn is a subversive ranting film based on the dubious premise that the Soviets could invade the United States with conventional forces. The film opens as the Soviet Union—and their wheat harvests failing—make a surprise landing of dozens of heavily armed battalions in the western States. The small town of Calumet, Col., soon feels the repressive hand of the invaders. The Soviet Bloc soldiers rape Calumet's women, and we see an propaganda camp at the local drive-in and execute troublemakers by the score. Only a handful of high school students under the leadership of a handsome football star named Jed (Patrick Swayze) escape to the mountains to fight on.

After re-enlisting, John (Cowan) and the Buchanan Military Band will appear to these U.S. citizens who believe that their right to carry arms offers a major bulwark against the Communist menace. When Jed, his brother Matt (Charlie Sheen) and the others flee Calumet,

they already possess enough hardware to equip a regiment. For Milius, the Third World War does not mean the end of the planet but an old-fashioned shooting match between the forces of evil and a plucky band of patriotic Americans.

At times, *Red Dawn* offers some insights into the hate and horror of guerrilla war. Swayze convincingly conveys the emotional torment of a young man who must become a leader in a matter of hours. On one occasion he even confronts the painful prospect of shooting a friend who has betrayed him. The film also features numerous, blasphemous battle scenes. Yet it finally founders in its plasticity, sentimentality and simplistic characterization. When a group of Calumet citizens, including Jed's father, form a Communist front squad, they spontaneously break into a chant of America the Beautiful. Meanwhile, the Soviet soldiers are portrayed as a "loving, gentle, kind, heroic" people. *Red Dawn* is a political war film. But its message is too crudely communicated to appeal to any but the converted.

—JOHN ROBINSON

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1. *The Raj, 1965* (3)
2. *The Aquarius Progression*, Ludwin (3)
3. *And Ladies of the Club*, Shostak (3)
4. *Fall Circle*, Steele (2)
5. *First Among Equals*, Amherst (3)
6. *Liberia*, Vidal (3)
7. *Hearts of Stone*, Herbert (3)
8. *The Meaning of Death*, L'Amour (3)
9. *The Witches of Esterwick*, Updike (3)
10. *House Sweet Home*, Shuster (3)
11. *Primes Just Now*

Nixon's footnote salute to history



By Allan Fotheringham

A man who spends the 10th anniversary of Watergate in retrospect, at Richard Nixon's supreme contempt for his country. The power and dignity of the capital meant nothing to him, he placed above it a "second-rate tortoise" and lied and corrupted the highest office in the land for two years while slipping and shifting in grace. He cared nothing for America when you think about it. He cared only for Richard Milhouse Nixon.

Well, he won't die bad. The man who had less than \$500 in his checking account on the day of his resignation, now has a fortune. He lives in a \$2-million, five-bedroom mansion among other multimillion-dollar mansions in New Jersey across the Hudson from Manhattan. He still gets \$125,000 in pensions and \$300,000 in government expenses. He still has his Secret Service guards, who drive him to his Wall Street office every day. On paid him \$200,000 for the privilege of an interview. He made a \$1.5-million profit on his last real estate move. His books are best sellers; the books that are always self-serving, telling some of the truth about the press, some of the truth about government but never the truth about Richard Nixon.

He was Tricky Dicky when he started out in politics in California, emerging in opposition with allegations about being a Red, and he never changed. That contemptible smile rocked of insincerity, and his insensitivity, in leaving the White House by helicopter that August day in 1974, had him holding his fingers aloft in the "victory" salute. In effect, it was his own version of the upfleated index finger, he was telling the American people that he was still right, that all these charges were unfair and untrue. He has never apologized to this day, never admitted that he was wrong. Instead, he is taken by limousine to lunch each day at expensive restaurants such as the St. Club or Le Cirque, to dine with bank presidents, the furtive Henry Kissinger, the fatigued Alexander Haig. He has vis-

ited 38 countries since his disgrace and has been welcomed by the heads of state by all but two of them. How soon we forget.

Nixon believes in the maxim quoted by Tallyrand, that "it is worse than a crime, it is a blunder." He maintains Watergate will be a mere "footnote" in the history books. He regards it just as an error in tactics. If he had destroyed the tapes, everything would have been all right. What he chooses to ignore is that Watergate was simply the legal extension of the Nixon personality, the belief that once in power anything is



permissible—as long as you don't get caught. The secret bombings of Cambodia were okay as long as you didn't have to admit to them. The wiretaps, initiated by the deviant Kissinger, were okay, as were the break-ins, because the boys in charge were smart enough and arrogant enough to know they'd never be caught. The vile comments about Jews and Indians in the privacy of the Oval Office were okay because only the tape—and the tapes—were listening. As a symbiotic columnist Joseph Kraft says, "He was a crook through and through, a complete cheat."

The fiddling Gerald Ford, his hand pressed firmly against his Peter Pan-like, pained chest, has after Kissinger used the blackmail that Nixon was contemplating suicide. His partners in crime, after carrying bread to you, are now respectable and well liked. John Mitchell, who as the highest law officer of the land, attorney general, lied and cheated like any oil thief, still wears expensive suits and meets with Nixon regularly

Charles Colson is a born-again Christian and can be seen on television regularly, his pink face emanating sanctity of the same caliber that protected his Watergate innocence. Gerald Ford, the man who used to hold his hand over a flame to prove how tough he was, still justifies the conclusion the group made the Washington columnist Jack Anderson would have to be killed because of the looks appearing in his columns.

Jeff MacNelly is out of jail and he too has discovered God. MacNelly writes books about mystery and intrigue, for which he is immensely qualified. He also is such an California as a hotel president and at least enough hasn't ruined a novel. The sleepy John Dean, who ranted on his book and therefore earned only a short time in the slammer, is still on the no-limits lecture circuit, clean of color and still tokyo around the edges. Dwight Chapin, Nixon's appomattox secretary who supervised the "dirty tricks" espionage projects, has been publisher of a Chicago magazine, *Success*.

The fact that they were practically all lawyers, Nixon included, was the most outrageous of all. If they had been grasping businessmen—or piano movers or chiropractors—it would all have been much more understandable. But the men trained in the law, appointed to uphold it, descended to the level of grafters and petty chugs in their desperation to save their own reputations after they had used the White House as a house for crime. That is the ultimate insult, why Nixon and Watergate will always be more than a footnote in the books. The man who was given the greatest majority in U.S. political history did not take inspiration from that victory; it moved him to further contempt for those who elected him. He had enormous power, so he could abuse it even more. He was a crook and a liar.

And Frank Wills, the security guard who discovered the break-in, was language complex and triggered the whole thing. He was caught shoplifting a pair of running shoes in a George's department store two years ago, spent 16 months in jail and now lives with his mother. The board continues to the end,

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